

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE
OF THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

17th - 21st June 1978

UCPI0000013228/1

Special Report

SUBJECT

Reference to Papers

METROPOLITAN POLICE**SPECIAL BRANCH**

[REDACTED]

✓ day of 13.

The following account has been received from a reliable source:-

INTRODUCTION

The National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party, the supreme body responsible for the formulation of party policy, was this year held in the Woburn Suite of the Ivanhoe Hotel, Bloomsbury Street, London WC1 (Tel: 01-636-5601), commencing at 9.30am on Saturday 17 June 1978 and continuing on a daily basis until the business was concluded at 1pm on Wednesday 21 June 1978.

This document will deal comprehensively with that conference and include arrangements made for the organisation, administration, finance and security of the event, a report on the conference discussions and resultant resolutions on which the future policies and activities of the Socialist Workers Party will be based during the coming period and, finally, a detailed analysis of membership, finance and other inter-related statistics.

In order to deal effectively with such a diversity of topics, the subject matter concerned will be divided into three parts as follows:-

PART 1 - Structure of Conference
Objectives of Conference.
Organisation.
Administration.
Finance.
Security.

PART 2 - Report on Conference
Conference timetables.
Conference discussions.
Resolutions.

PART 3 - Appendices
Statistics.
Personal details of delegates
and full-time party workers.
Security references.

Where, during the course of the narrative, it is deemed necessary to refer to another part of the report, only the number of the paragraph concerned will be given and for this reason all paragraphs in Part 1 and Part 2 will be numbered consecutively. A reference to statistics or other such information which has been dealt with by way of appendices in Part 3, will include details of both the appendix and relevant page numbers.

Structure of Conference

The Objectives of Conference

1. The National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party (which of necessity includes pre-conference discussion by way of internal party publications and meetings of the rank and file membership at district, branch and fraction level) is the democratic machinery by which the organisation formulates its political policies, establishes a future programme of revolutionary activities and elects the leading committee to serve the Party for the coming year.
2. In order to assess accurately the area in which change or development is necessary, leading cadres within the Party have decided that the focal point of attention should be on the 'objective' situation prevailing at the time, i.e. the state and development of the economy, government policy, international events, the strength (and political outlook) of the working class movement and, above all, the consciousness of the various layers within that movement. These are spheres in which it is accepted that the Party has no control at the present time, although it is possible to engineer some influence, and for this reason a close examination is imperative in order that the Party can directly relate its policies and thus provide a substantial base on which to strengthen its revolutionary effectiveness and organisation, at the same time building the membership of the Socialist Workers Party and increasing the revolutionary potential within the working class movement as a whole. The discussion around the 'public issues' normally commences several months before the actual conference begins, the standard party publications being utilised in which the membership, whether Central Committee members or individuals from outlying branches, can advance perspectives and express opinions on the success or failure of current party policies or activities. (In the main, the publication specifically used for this form of discussion is the 'Internal Bulletin' and this will be dealt with at a later stage in the report.)
3. It is also considered essential that the elected delegates are able to assess accurately their decisions on these matters in relation to the 'subjective' element which concerns the membership, recruitment and financial statistics, together with the successes or failures of the Party during the preceding year. These details, however, by virtue of their delicate and secretive nature are considered highly unsuitable for publication in party journals, even of an 'internal' classification, in view of the fact that (as quoted by Duncan DALLAS, a leading Central Committee member) 'it has to be taken for granted that all internal party literature goes to the political police - the Special Branch'. Thus, the conference

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also serves as a means of disseminating amongst the membership, through elected delegates, the intimate details of party statistics which are considered to be too sensitive for direct publication. In addition to this, it has been found in the past that such action in relation to conference perspectives concerning "internal" issues has resulted in other left-wing groups using the information to embarrass the organisation publicly, thus damaging and weakening the credibility of the Socialist Workers Party.

4. These objectives are the basis around which an annual party conference is held and, having thus dealt with the reasons for the formulation of the event in general, the report from this point onwards will deal specifically with the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Organisation of Conferences

5. The organisation of the 1978 National Delegate Conference presented the Party machinery with a complex problem, severely hampered by the necessity for absolute secrecy in relation to the date and venue of the event, and for this reason the task was undertaken by members of the Central Committee who, in turn, delegated the more mundane administration matters to the National Secretary (Simon TURNER) and his full-time staff at the Centre (Party Headquarters).

6. Several months before the date nominated for the commencement of Conference, the Central Committee made extensive enquiries to establish a suitable location for the event, taking into account that it would be necessary to seat at least two hundred people. In addition to this it was essential that there was immediate access to public transport for delegates attending from the provinces, provision had to be made for light refreshment to be served inside the conference hall, suitable electrical facilities were necessary for the installation of a public address system and, if needed, recording equipment and above all, it was a prerequisite that the venue could be secured completely against intervention from outside agencies.

7. After much prodigious searching, it was decided that the Weburn Suite at the Ivancha Hotel, Bloomsbury Street, London WC1 lent itself ideally to the requirements which were considered essential for the conference venue and it was agreed with the hotel management that the Party could have exclusive use of the suite and another small room on the ground floor of the hotel from 6pm on Friday 16 June 1978 until 6pm on Wednesday 21 June 1978. One point of particular interest was the fact that the suite was being used prior to the conference for a book fair which was scheduled to end at 5pm on Friday 16 June 1978 and it was the view of the Central Committee members that the attendance of the Party representatives responsible for the initial preparation of the conference hall should coincide with

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the excavation by the previous incumbents. By this action, the planting of any bugging devices or other such contraptions by the Special Branch or other government agencies would be completely precluded. An incidental benefit was the existence in the hotel of a large bar, selling drinks at prices considerably lower than the surrounding West End public houses and this later gave rise to considerable praise from the delegates on the fore-thought shown for their welfare by the organising body.

8. Having successfully established the conference venue, the next task was to stimulate extensive discussion amongst the grassroots membership of the organisation and elicit from that source perspectives and resolutions to form the basis of debate at Conference. The manner in which this was done centred on the 'Internal Bulletin', a monthly publication sold only to party members for reasons of security, in which are laid out critiques on current policy and suggestions for future perspectives, albeit that the majority of contributions flow from the pens of the Central Committee members and other such leading cadres within the Party.

9. Thus a programme based on the 'Internal Bulletin' was developed to focus the attention of the membership on suggested perspectives and related topics and initiate useful discussion and argument, with an opportunity for the results of such deliberations to be published for the benefit of other branches and districts. This process was repeated three times in order that the entire membership and, in particular, the delegates who would later attend Conference had ample time to read and understand the viewpoint of the whole Party on specific issues, there being opportunity for reply to previous articles in the second and third bulletins. The programme was as follows:-

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|-------------------------|--|
| Wednesday 12 April 1978 | Publication of first pre-conference bulletin. |
| Wednesday 26 April 1978 | Closing date for contributions for second pre-conference bulletin. |
| Wednesday 10 May 1978 | Publication of second pre-conference bulletin. |
| Saturday 20 May 1978 | Closing date for contributions for third pre-conference bulletin. |
| Wednesday 31 May 1978 | Publication of third pre-conference bulletin (including resolutions received to date). |
| Wednesday 31 May 1978 | Publication of Conference Agenda. |

Saturday 10 June 1978

Final date for the submission
of resolutions for considera-
tion at Conference.

Saturday 17 June 1978

Conference opens.

From the schedule it can be seen that, at most, there was only a maximum of ten days between the publication of one bulletin and the closing date for submission of material for the subsequent issue. For this reason, the activities of branches and districts throughout the country were extensively co-ordinated by the full-time party organisers (about thirty in number) who were continually in contact with the Centre regarding the most significant issues in order that emergency branch and district aggregate meetings could be convened at short notice to discuss contentious topics and consider whether an article or resolution should be submitted for the next bulletin. This procedure, however, proved totally impractical due to the lack of time to promote the necessary meetings and widespread criticism was later voiced that the correct democratic party machinery had been circumvented, i.e. discussion at branch level followed by a proposal to the district aggregate meeting - discussion at the district aggregate meeting with an opportunity to refer back to the branch concerned for consideration - finally, the decision whether to submit an article or resolution, if any, for publication. Despite this slight setback, the necessary discussions took place and produced many resolutions which, together with the conference agenda, were published on 31 May 1978 as the '1978 National Conference Bulletin' and immediately forwarded to the elected delegates for their perusal prior to the commencement of Conference itself.

10. Delegates credentials for geographical districts and branches were allocated on the basis of one representative for each thirty 'paid-up' members or majority thereof, with a separate allocation for 'fractions' which was decided on an individual basis by the Central Committee upon application by those concerned (for a definition of a 'fraction', see section four of the 'Party Constitution' - paragraph 39). The delegates were elected at branch meetings or, in larger areas, at district aggregate meetings and were chosen either for their considerable industrial involvement as trade union officials or their relatively senior positions in the local party structure. In this way one hundred and forty five geographically based delegates were selected which, when added to sixty full-time party workers (Central Committee members, full-time party organisers and 'Socialist Worker' editorial staff), provided a total of two hundred and five delegates with full voting rights at the Conference. The manner in which they were distinguishable for voting purposes will be dealt with in the section on 'Administration'.

11. The final major consideration regarding the organisation of the conference was the production of statistics concerning party membership, finances, the involvement of the members in the trade union movement and the production and costing figures

for party publications. This was considered essential to ensure that delegates to Conference made the correct decision in the light of all information available and later informed the membership of their branches, districts and fractions of the present state of the organisation. The details concerned, however, were considered highly secret and much too delicate for publication in any journal and so it was necessary for a total of forty seven separate sheets to be produced and duplicated with sufficient copies for every delegate under the title of 'Additional Conference Information'. These sheets were produced at the Centre under strict secrecy by the National Secretary and his staff and were only distributed to delegates for individual sessions of the Conference when the subject matter contained in them was relevant to the topic under discussion.

12. Several minor issues also had to be considered, not least of which was the installation of a suitable public address system which, in the event, was found to be over effective by one delegate who, having escaped from the oppressive heat of the conference hall, found himself standing on the pavement outside the hotel amongst bemused members of the public, listening without difficulty to a reverend member of the Central Committee delivering a recipe for 'instant revolution'. Needless to say the 'fault' was quickly rectified and the system returned to its useful function of allowing the quietest delegates to make their points from the floor with the aid of the six 'radio microphones' which had been provided for that purpose.

13. Naturally, the enforcement of rigid security measures preventing the removal of 'Additional Conference Information' sheets and other such documents from the conference area, coupled with a tight business schedule which left no time for breaks other than the lunch period, it was necessary to provide light refreshment for the delegates in the conference hall itself. Two large urns and the necessary ingredients for tea, coffee and fruit juices were supplied and the Conference Arrangements Committee delegated two attendants on a daily basis to run the tea-bar which managed to make a clear profit over the five day period of £65.

14. Moving from sustenance to entertainment - on the evening of the opening day of the conference, two functions were provided to enable delegates to relax and get to know each other - a disco at the Polytechnic of Central London, New Cavendish Street, London WC1 and a party at [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] (the home of [REDACTED] Privacy - Socialist Workers Party Gay Group) - both of which were considered successful, whatever the particular inclination of those taking part.

The Administration of Conference

15. The administrative details of the conference were the direct responsibility of Nixon RUMIN, the National Secretary, although the majority of the work was undertaken by [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED]

Privacy

Privacy

both full-time party workers at the National Office in the Park and File Centre, Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, London N1. Indeed, these two persons were ultimately responsible for the smooth coordination of the conference arrangements due to the protracted absenteeism of their leader who found it necessary to involve himself continually with 'other matters of immediate priority'.

16. In order to establish how many persons would be attending the conference, a circular was distributed in the 'weekly mailing' to district and branch organisers requesting details of delegates together with a registration fee of £30 for each set of credentials required. Once the names and addresses of the delegates were received, acknowledgements were sent direct to the persons concerned informing them that the credentials and related information would be forwarded immediately prior to the commencement of Conference, thus precluding the disclosure of the actual venue until the last possible moment.

17. As the applications for credentials were received, delegates were 'logged' in a master register which showed details of their branch or district, their union membership, whether or not accommodation was required for the duration of the conference and, most important of all, the payment of registration fees. At this stage, each person was allocated a conference number which was entered against the details in the register and printed both on the credentials and on the front of a personal folder which would be used during the conference for the distribution of the 'Additional Conference Information' sheets. For the purpose of this exercise, which was basically a security measure, all elected delegates, full-time party workers, 'Socialist Worker' editorial staff, foreign visitors, accredited observers and stewards were all considered as delegates.

18. The credentials themselves were divided into three separate categories depending upon the status at Conference of the holder. Pink credentials denoted that the holder was an elected delegate, a full-time party worker or a member of the 'Socialist Worker' editorial staff, all of whom were entitled to full voting rights on all matters. Green credentials were issued to all persons granted observer status, whilst blue credentials were reserved for foreign and domestic visitors. This procedure was considered necessary to safeguard the voting system on resolutions during Conference, when the only hands which would be counted by the tellers were those holding a pink credential.

19. Delegates were advised that in view of the high expenditure involved in running the Conference, the registration fees were to be paid in full before the opening date and failure to do so

would result in the credentials of the delegate concerned being withdrawn immediately. This, however, appeared to be merely a method of ensuring early payment as many delegates had not paid their fees even after the conference had ended and efforts had to be made by the organisers to recover the monies due.

20. Accommodation for delegates from the provinces was arranged by the organisers, although in most cases this amounted to little more than basic sleeping facilities with meals provided on a cost-sharing basis at the houses of party members in the London area. However, this arrangement seemed to work reasonably well and saved delegates the cost of bed and breakfast or a hotel room.

21. The last major administrative task was the production of the statistics concerning party membership, finance and related subjects which would be distributed to the delegates as necessary in the form of 'Additional Conference Information' sheets. This took a considerable time as only a limited interest in such matters had been shown in the past, necessitating a complete manual count of the records at National Office before any reliable statistical information could be formulated. Eventually, however, the marathon task was completed and the sheets were stencilled and duplicated containing, in addition to the information previously mentioned, a number of resolutions which had been received prior to the final publication deadline but too late for inclusion in the 'Conference Bulletin'. The arrangements made for the security of this information will be dealt with at a later stage.

The Financial Aspect of Conferences

22. The total cost of the conference was estimated by leading members of the Party at approximately £5,000 although it is necessary to understand that this figure includes the cost of producing all the necessary literature - bulletins, credentials and information sheets to the value of £2,000 - which was printed at Red Edge Litho Limited, The Oval, E2 (the print works owned by the Socialist Workers Party) and not charged directly to the Party funds. The hire of the 'Wet' - a Suite at the Iveragh Hotel was predictably the most expensive individual item, costing in the region of £300 a day, whilst the public address system and 'radio microphones' were hired from a professional supplier at a cost of £600.

23. In order to encourage the attendance of delegates who were in full-time employment, particularly those holding key trade union positions, the Party offered to pay the fares of all delegates, providing that the journeys were made by the cheapest possible means available. Also, in cases of hardship

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an ex-gratia payment of £8 a day would be made to cover the loss of wages during the sessions on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. The total expenditure on these items amounted to £1,000.

24. It can be seen from these figures that the actual amount of money paid by the Party to outside agencies and in the form of expenses totalled £3,100 this figure being slightly lower than expected due to the fact that those responsible did not calculate that student and unemployed members would be paying reduced registration fees.

25. Thus it can be seen that a surplus of £900 remained after all outgoing expenses had been paid and this money was nearly all channelled towards the payment of printing costs incurred by Feb Edge Litho Limited, the residue being used to cover postage and other small items.

The Security Arrangements for Conferences

26. The arrangements for security were divided into two categories dealing initially with the venue itself and necessary restrictions on the entry of any unauthorised person and secondly measures essential to prevent the leakage of information contained in documents produced solely for use within the confines of the conference hall, e.g. 'Additional Conference Information' sheets and the 'Conference Bulletin'.

27. A week before the opening date of Conference fourteen party stewards from the East London, North London and Lee Valley districts, who had been recommended for reliability and security consciousness by their respective full-time district organisers, were asked by the administrative staff to attend as stewards responsible for security. They were directed to meet outside the offices of the Trades Union Congress, Great Russell Street, WC1 at 6.30pm on Friday 16 June 1972, when they would be met and taken to the conference venue, where their responsibilities would be explained.

28. During Conference itself, the stewards worked under the direction of the Conference Arrangements Committee consisting of Dennis MILLAR, Simon THOMAS [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy and were responsible for ensuring that only those persons possessing the correct credentials entered the conference area, providing the 'radio microphones' to delegates who wished to make contributions from the floor, collecting the personal document folders from delegates as they left the hall, running the tea-bar and finally ensuring that the room used by the Conference Arrangements Committee was always locked when not in use.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

29. On the evening before Conference, the Woburn Suite was prepared and all the doors were sealed with the exception of the exit into the hotel lobby. One of the stewards was then delegated to remain in the hall overnight to prevent any intrusion by outside agencies before the conference began. In the room used by the Conference Arrangements Committee the document folders for use by individual delegates were then prepared for the opening session the following morning and at the end of the evening [redacted] Privacy announced his intention to remain in the room for the night to safeguard the documents concerned and assure his early presence the following morning.

30. At this stage it is necessary to explain the system used for ensuring that the delegates had in their possession the relevant 'Additional Conference Information' sheets for the subject under discussion and the way in which the control of this material assisted the overall security of the conference. A folder was prepared for each delegate and on the front was printed the name and conference number of the person concerned. Prior to the commencement of every session, the stewards and the administrative staff on duty at the time placed in these folders the sheets containing the organisational statistics and other restricted details which were considered to be relevant to the forthcoming debates, at the same time removing the sheets used during the previous session. In this way the delegates were permitted access to the information during the period necessary for deliberation at conference, but were unable to take any details away with them other than a broad outline for the benefit of the members they were representing.

31. When the delegates entered the conference hall at the beginning of each session, their credentials were checked, an entry was made in the attendance register and they were issued with their personal document folder. On completion of the session, the delegates were only allowed to leave the conference area on production of their personal document folder which was then retained by the steward on duty at the exit. The folders were then checked individually to ensure that none had been taken from the conference hall and that all the relevant documents were still in them and, if any of the folders or documents were missing the owner was immediately sought and made to account for the discrepancy.

32. After the final session of the conference, all the 'Additional Conference Information' sheets were torn up by the stewards and administrative staff, placed in sacks and burnt 'later that evening, and so effective was this last frenzy of activity that the Party itself does not possess copies of the documents which it produced.'

33. Thus, having assiduously prepared everything, the venue was ready for the opening of the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party on the following day, 17 June 1978.

CONFERENCE REPORT
The 1979 National Delegates Conference
of the
Socialist Workers Party

34. Saturday 17 June 1979

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|---------------|---|---|
| 9.30 - 10.30 | - | Registration |
| 10.30 - 11.00 | - | Agenda Adoption of Standing Orders Adoption of Party Constitution |
| 11.00 - 12.30 | - | Report by National Secretary - the State of the Organisation |
| 12.30 - 2.00 | - | Lunch |
| 2.00 - 3.30 | - | Perspectives - Labour Govern- ment, Trade Union Leaders, possibility of General Election in the near future. |
| 3.30 - 5.00 | - | The Communist Party, United Front, Left Unity |
| 5.00 - 6.00 | - | National Advisory Committee, Party Council and Internal Bulletin |

EXPLANATORY NOTE

35. The machinery by which the resolutions were prepared prior to voting by the delegates necessitated the election of a 'drafting commission' at the closure of each debate (see Articles 5, 6 and 7 of Conference Standing Orders - paragraph 29). It was the responsibility of this body to assess the most significant points raised during the discussion and from these produce a concise resolution on which a vote could later be taken by the elected delegates. However, the deliberations of these 'drafting commissions' inevitably took place after the conclusion of the daily conference business in order that the resolution could be drafted, stencils cut and sufficient copies produced for the panel of delegates the following morning, prior to the actual vote being taken. Thus to avoid complication these resolutions have not been reported in strict chronological sequence.

36. The doors of the conference hall were opened promptly at 9.30 am and the registration procedure commenced. Delegates produced their numbered credentials which were thoroughly checked against the master register, a note being made on the attendance sheet for that particular session (the conference was divided into morning and afternoon sessions each day, a strict count being kept on individual delegates attending every session) and, providing the delegate fee had been paid, the person concerned was issued with the correctly numbered personal folder containing the relevant statistical documents for that session. The chairs then showed the delegates to their seats, ensuring that those with full voting rights (pink credentials) sat at the front of the hall, whilst observers (green credentials) and visitors (blue credentials) were placed at the rear - a manoeuvre intended to assist the tellers counting votes. The registration period, however, continued well past the allotted time, so in the main, to the late arrival of many delegates from the provinces and, secondly to a reluctance on the part of Duncan HALLAS, the chairperson for the first session, to formally open the proceedings until such time as he found his notes which had become mislaid since his arrival at the hotel.

37. At 11 am Duncan HALLAS called the delegates to order and formally opened the conference, welcoming those present on behalf of the Central Committee and conference organisers. He apologised for the late start of the morning session and asked that in future all delegates attend the conference hall in good time to enable the business to start promptly in accordance with the agenda.

38. The first item of business was the proposed agenda for the five-day period and HALLAS read this out for the benefit of all delegates and then reminded everyone present that all proposals to alter the agenda or order of business must, in the first instance, be directed to the Conference Arrangements Committee. He then named and identified the members of the committee (see paragraph 20) and explained the location of the room which had been reserved specifically for their use during the conference period.

39. This short introduction led directly to the second item on the agenda - the proposal of the 'Standing Orders', under which the conference would take place, by the Chairperson, Duncan HALLAS:-

Conference Standing Orders

- 1) The Chairman or Chairwoman of the session shall be appointed by the Central Committee.
- 2) At the beginning of the opening sessions the chairman shall call for the election of six tellers who shall be elected delegates.
- 3) The agenda and order of business will be presented to Conference in its initial session.

- [REDACTED]
- 4) All proposals to alter the agenda or order of business must be taken up, in the first instance, with the Conference Arrangements Committee. Direct approaches to the chair or actions from the floor will not be in order. Proposals may be made only by elected delegates or the Central Committee. The Conference Arrangements Committee will report on such proposals together with its recommendations at the earliest convenient opportunity. Conference will decide, by vote, whether to accept, reject, or refer back the recommendation.
 - 5) At the times specified in the agenda, drafting commissions will be elected to draw out the sense of such discussion in the form of a motion. In event of differing points of view emerging, two or more commissions may be elected. A minimum support of five delegates shall be required to establish a commission.
 - 6) Commission drafts will be put to the vote in subsequent session. In the event of supporters of a particular commission being dissatisfied with the draft, the reference back may be moved. Amendments may be presented to the Conference Arrangements Committee which shall rule whether they be put as amendments or as a separate commission motion.
 - 7) In the event of directly conflicting motions, the Conference Arrangements Committee shall rule on the order in which they be taken, and which fall in the event of others being passed.
 - 8) All those present at Conference may speak. Speakers from the floor shall be allowed five minutes.
 - 9) Speakers may speak more than once during a session at the chairman's discretion. There shall be no automatic right of reply.
 - 10) A delegate from every district or branch which has submitted motions shall have a right to be called in the relevant session provided they notify the chair (by slip) of their wish to do so.
 - 11) Where differences of views on an issue are apparent, the chair shall take account of the balance of debate when calling speakers.
 - 12) Only elected delegates may vote.
 - 13) Election to leading bodies (including Central Committee, Central Commission and Conference Arrangements Committee) will be decided by Conference. Delegates must vote for a full committee in each case (whatever order it decided by Conference).
 - 14) No point of order will be accepted from the floor unless it relates to a specific, stated standing order (or orders). All other complaints
- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

must in the first instance go to the Conference Arrangements Committee.

After allowing the Delegates sufficient time to peruse their personal copy of the orders in the document folder, HALLAS moved that the 'Conference Standing Orders' be accepted as written, the vote being carried 'unanimously'.

40. The final topic of the initial session was the adoption of the proposed Party Constitution and in view of the significance of this particular document, HALLAS read out the proposal in its entirety, as follows:-

The Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party

1. Introduction

- a) The Socialist Workers Party is an organisation of revolutionary socialists dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism internationally and the construction of a world socialist system.
- b) The Socialist Workers Party stands in and develops the revolutionary Communist tradition of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky as opposed to the Social Democratic and Stalinist traditions. Standing as it does, in this tradition, the Socialist Workers Party believes that the working class is the only force capable of building socialism in the world. Therefore, it strives to construct a revolutionary party composed in its overwhelming majority of workers.
- c) The Socialist Workers Party is Democratic Centralist because the revolutionary party must be a disciplined, activist, combat organisation. It is democratic in reaching its decisions and centralist in carrying them out. The lower bodies of the group are subordinated to higher bodies and all are subordinate to the delegate conference.
- d) The party is the instrument of the revolutionary struggle and hence its every effort to support and sustain that struggle.

2. Membership

- a) A member is one who accepts the programme, principles and constitution of the Socialist Workers Party, pays the subscriptions and works within and under the direction of the appropriate bodies of the organisation.
- b) All members shall be members of an appropriate trade union. Every member must take and sell 'Socialist Worker'.

[REDACTED]

a) Any member over three months in arrears with subscriptions is excluded from membership.

3. Districts, Branches and Cells

- a) The basic unit of the organisation is the district.
- b) Within the district structure the members are grouped in workplaces or geographical branches or in workplace branches or in workplace or functional cells.
- c) The district committee, which is elected by an aggregate meeting of members in the district (or otherwise if the Central Committee agrees), directs the work of the branches and cells in the district within the framework of national policy. Its decisions are binding on the branches, cells and members, unless altered by a higher body.
- d) District aggregates open to all members in the district are held at regular intervals.
- e) Where it is not practical to establish a district, members are grouped in independent branches which may be sub-divided into workplace and functional cells.
- f) The establishment of a new district or the alteration of district boundaries requires the agreement of the Central Committee.

4. National Fractions

- a) Members in a particular industry or union are constituted, where possible, into national fractions. The establishment of a fraction requires the agreement of the Central Committee.
- b) Fraction aggregates are held from time to time, either on a delegate basis or otherwise.
- c) Fraction executives direct the work of the fractions within the framework of national policy.

5. Party Council

- a) The Party Council is constituted of representatives of districts and national fractions. It usually meets once a year. Additional meetings may be called in case of need by the Central Committee.
- [REDACTED]

b) The Council reviews the political and organisational work of the Socialist Workers Party (or such aspects of it as it deems necessary) between conferences, pools the experiences of the districts and fractions in implementing the line of the organisation and advises the Central Committee.

c) Council members will normally be elected by district aggregates and national fractions and may be changed by these bodies. The numerical basis of representation shall be determined by the Central Committee, providing that every recognised district and national fraction has at least one representative.

6. National Advisory Committee

a) The National Advisory Committee consists of forty members elected by Conference. It normally meets at two-monthly intervals.

b) The National Advisory Committee reviews the current political and organisational work of the Socialist Workers Party and advises the Central Committee.

7. Central Control Commission

a) The Central Control Commission consists of seven members, five elected by conference and two nominated by the Central Committee.

b) Its functions are to maintain and strengthen the unity and discipline of the organisation and to investigate complaints relating to disciplinary matters by members or units of the organisation.

c) Disciplinary measures (censure, suspension, expulsion) for breaches of discipline are taken in cases of need by district committees, fraction executives or by the Central Committee. The Central Control Commission reviews such measures on request and may alter or reverse them. It may also take such disciplinary measures as it deems necessary on its own initiative.

d) The Central Control Commission is empowered to co-opt members to serve for particular investigations.

e) The Central Control Commission meets from time to time to review its own work.

f) The Central Control Commission reports to Conference, where its actions are subject to endorsement or otherwise.

8. Central Committee

- a) The Central Committee consists of members elected by Conference.
- b) Between conferences it is the leadership committee of the organisation and is responsible for the national direction of all political and organisational work.
- c) It appoints all full-timers.

9. Conference

- a) Conference is the supreme policy making body and is held annually.
- b) Delegates to Conference are elected by district aggregates on a numerical basis decided by the Central Committee. Only such delegates vote at conference but other members may be invited by the Central Committee to attend. Central Committee and Conference Arrangements Committee members and full-time workers attend with full speaking rights.
- c) The Central Committee, national fractions, districts and branches not in districts, submit motions to conference. The number submitted by each district or branch may be restricted by the Conference Arrangements Committee.
- d) Three months before Conference the Central Committee opens a pre-conference discussion in the organisation. Priority is given in the internal publications to material directed to these discussions during this period.
- e) The Conference Arrangements Committee consists of five members three elected by the previous conference and two nominated by the Central Council vice.
- f) The Conference Arrangements Committee makes regulations and standing orders for the preparation and conduct of conference.
- g) A special conference may be called by the Central Committee or on the requisition of twelve districts.

10. Factions

- a) A Faction may be formed around a political platform signed by forty members that shows the points of agreement and disagreement with the party line.

b) A Faction will be given reasonable facilities to distribute its documents and argue its point of view. These must be circulated through the National Office.

c) Debate continues until the party at a special or annual conference shall reach a decision on the disputed question. Permanent or secret factions are not allowed.

Once again HALLIDAY permitted the delegates a short respite to collect their thoughts and comment on the subject matter before proceeding that the 'Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party', as written, be adopted by Conference. The delegates showed their approval of the Constitution by raising their hands and, after a perfunctory glance around the room, HALLIDAY once again announced that the motion was carried 'unanimously'.

41. At this stage, just before the closure of the initial session, HALLIDAY was reminded from the floor that under the 'Standing Orders for Conference', it was obligatory for six tellers to be appointed to enable delegates' votes to be counted correctly at later stages of Conference when the success or failure of resolutions was in dispute. He agreed that he had overlooked the matter and requested volunteers for the task, the following persons eventually being allocated the responsibility:-

Privacy

Major GUNN

Privacy

Privacy

Having thus successfully disposed of his critics, HALLIDAY moved on to the next session on the agenda and introduced Simon TUNNEY, the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to give a report on the current state of the organisation.

42. National Secretary's Report

Simon TUNNEY opened his report on the current state of the organisation by explaining that throughout the past year there had been a considerable 'desertion' in political struggle resulting directly from the strict implementation of the 'Social Contract' which had caused many rank and file members to 'give up the fight' when their concerted efforts in fighting pay restraint seemed to be met with little or no success. This major factor had a direct bearing on the national membership figures and whilst substantial increases had been made in recruiting new members into the organisation, these increases had been offset considerably by the loss of almost the same number of persons over a similar period of time. He then referred to the statistical information relating to membership figures contained in the delegates' personal folders (See appendices 1,2,3,4 and 5 - pages 1 - 11.) and spent a considerable time outlining the reasons why individual major districts had fallen behind in their recruitment figures and the problems of rural geographical

[REDACTED]

branches in maintaining a viable membership. Linking this directly to the necessity of building the organisation by 'workplace orientation', he had to admit that when the figures on union membership for the past year were analysed, only a marginal increase was shown with regard to the involvement of Socialist Workers Party members in manual unions, whilst there had been a marked decrease in respect of white collar unions. Indeed from the figures given, it appeared that the only substantial increases had been in the sectors dealing with school students, the unemployed and persons without any specific trade union affiliation.

43. Having thus explained the statistics and answered several questions from delegates on points which required clarification, KIRKES finalised his speech by urging delegates to ensure that immediate action was taken in individual districts to increase the membership and, having done so, the new members were not lost through lack of interest on the part of leading cadres who should ensure that the interest of such persons was maintained by constant contact and involvement in local activities. Only in this way could a significant increase in party activities be engineered as it was difficult to consider intervening in disputes when there was little physical or vocal support due to a lack of membership or allied periphery.

44. Duncan HALLIDAY then opened the subject for discussion by asking for contributions from the floor, this resulting in the delegates focusing the debate around the three major issues concerning political training schools, increased 'workplace orientation' and the necessity for educating and integrating new members. The majority of persons present were unable to reach any logical conclusion with regard to 'long-term' members becoming disillusioned and leaving the party (although the odd person who seemed to have suggestions on this topic was unable to expound on his theory due to the lack of time available for speakers from the floor) and Conference declined to deal with this particular problem, which was considered insoluble.

45. The discussion period having been completed, in accordance with the Conference Standing Orders a drafting Committee was elected, consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy and [REDACTED] Privacy and after discussing the matter later the same evening the following resolution was produced on 'The State of the Organisation' which was placed before Conference the following day and carried 'now, non.' -

State of the Organisation (Resolution)

The overall membership gain the Socialist Workers Party has made over the past year despite the downturn in the class struggle hides the fact of a largish turnover, with gains merely outstripping fairly substantial losses.

[REDACTED]

To prevent the losses:-

- 1) Political training must become a top priority, so that members both know what they are undertaking and why and also so that they approach the activities with the same earnestness and responsibility as when they first joined. To this end district or regional cadre schools should be held regularly.
- 2) The Party must emphasize its workplace orientation and not use some of their best comrades as district dogsbody, thus divorcing them from fraction work and leading to their possible loss through disorientation and frustration. Instead districts should be organised where possible on the basis of workplace branches in whatever industry or union this can be done, i.e. by site with geographical branches, both types complementing each other. The districts thus gains the more valuable services of members whose main experience is the workplace. Where the division of districts splits fraction membership an inter-district industrial committee may overcome the resulting isolation.
- 3) It is essential to nurture new members not only before they join, but also after, so that the gain is stabilised and integrated. Political education is crucial in this. The evidence is that larger districts lose far more than small ones, the obvious conclusion being that the small units take much more care over their new members.

The membership secretary's role must be greatly emphasised not only on a district basis, but also in each branch.

46. At 1 pm, some 30 minutes later than scheduled due to the late start at the opening of the conference, HALLAM closed the morning session and reminded delegates that the afternoon proceedings would commence promptly at 2 pm, even if some delegates were not present by that time.

47. Lindsey GRIFFIN, the chairperson for the afternoon session, re-convened the conference at 2 pm and as soon as the delegates had settled, introduced JUNIEN HALLAM to speak on the subject of party perspectives.

48. Perspectives

HALLAM opened his talk by giving a brief account of the international economic situation during the past four years and explained that as a result of this general world crisis, the trade recession in Britain had become a real problem to the Labour Government who, undoubtedly, were relying on a combination of two and a half years of falling living standards and North Sea oil to enable them to begin solving the long term economic problems. The stringent wage restrictions imposed

[REDACTED]

to speed the return to a stable economy had resulted in militancy amongst the working class, which had been reflected in the growing trend towards consolidated industrial action in many parts of the country. Despite this militancy, however, the Government still had managed successfully to complete the first three stages of the 'Social Contract' and were now contemplating a 'fourth stage' which, no doubt, would impose further sanctions on the abilities of rank and file workers to achieve a decent living wage. It was therefore important to examine why the trade union movement had allowed this state of affairs to arise and, in particular, the three specific weaknesses which had grown during this period.

49. The most serious of these problems was the manner in which the traditional 'left' and 'second left' union leadership had in recent times turned sharply against any form of action which might hinder the Government and make the situation of the British capitalists more precarious, using the existence of a Labour Government as a valid reason for stopping nearly all industrial action. Indeed, when such action had been forced upon the union leaders by sheer militancy of the rank and file workers, the union officials attempted to rationalise the strike into token stoppage, thus preventing the mass mobilisation of the rank force. Thus the swing to the right by the union leadership had resulted in a crisis amongst the 'second left' and the 'alternative leadership' which used to exist, effectively hampering the efforts of the more militant trade union officials in their fight against the severe restrictions imposed by the implementation of the 'Social Contract'.

50. Developing from this argument, he moved on to deal with the manner in which workers who had taken the initiative to challenge the pay norms had been subjected to a barrage of criticism from the media, which had resulted in a considerable weakening of their 'ideological confidence'. Indeed, the 'ideological alternatives' which had traditionally existed within the trade union movement had all been based on the premise that a Labour Government (in particular a 'left' Labour Government) was the way forward and it was this which had formed the basis of argument when the Tories were in power. However, with a Labour Government now running the country, these ideas no longer provided an 'ideological alternative' and the union officials found it increasingly difficult to counter the view that only increased productivity and profitability could save jobs and prevent inflation. Thus it could be seen that by an ideological shift to the 'right' through class collaboration and the acceptance of participation agreements, the trade union movement in general was accepting the arguments relating to cuts in wages and social services that it had opposed when the Conservative Government was in power. The direct result of this was that shop stewards and convenors now lacked the ideological self-confidence to reject the arguments and criticism of the media and senior management against militant action, having been brain-washed into accepting the generalised arguments of productivity deals and the necessity for increased profitability.

[REDACTED]

51. The crisis regarding the basic union leadership and loss of specific ideological objectives during the past four years were only two of the weaknesses responsible for the considerable 'fission' in the political struggle centred on the workplace.

52. The main problem had been growing during the past ten years as the Government and employers had gradually introduced a policy of integrating senior shop stewards and convenors into the lower echelons of the management structure in many large companies and nationalised industries, thus effectively creating an artificial barrier between the union officials and the rank and file workers they represented. This, together with the two weaknesses previously mentioned, had resulted in a breakdown of the trade union movement as an effective & militant body capable of influencing the rank and file work force into mass action against the machinations of the Government in relation to the 'social contract' and cuts in social services and general living standards.

53. Moving away from the root troubles of the trade union movement, DAHLAS then concentrated on the activation of the Socialist Workers Party itself and, in particular, the necessity in the immediate future to translate the growth of the membership over the past two years into an equivalent presence in the workplaces, this being the real key to tackling the triple crisis of leadership, consciousness and organisation at present existing in the working class movement. That it was imperative to build the Party in the workplaces, relating to the rank and file workers rather than the various layers of officialism in the trade union movement, produce bulletins and build their circulation and above all create new political awareness amongst members of the working class movement.

54. The Party had already begun to concentrate its efforts on this area by developing the National Rank and File Organisation which would later become capable of co-ordinating the organisation of militant constituent branches, strike support committees and rank and file groups each having its own newspaper or bulletin. In this way a radicalized periphery would be created which would isolate militants from outside the organisation, persons seeking a socialist alternative to the present form of government and also constructs which have been made as a direct result of initiatives taken by the organization in fighting racism and sexual repression.

55. DAHLAS completed his speech by reminding the delegates that a general election was probable in the near future and in view of this it was most important that the Party was able to relate directly the activities and struggle in the workplace to the practical aspects of building a revolutionary socialist alternative which would appeal to the working class movement as a whole. This could only be achieved by building a massive

radicalized periphery, the support of which could be mobilised at the time of such an election.

Mr. LIPINSKY **CROWN** then thanked HILLAS for his contribution and invited the delegates to discuss the points raised on this important issue. Following several speeches from the floor which only served to consolidate the viewpoints already expressed, a drafting committee was selected consisting of Charles HARRIS and **CROWN** which produced the following resolution, later adopted by a unanimous vote:-

Privacy

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ANSWER (Page 101)

- 1) The most important feature of the past year has been the success of the Government's income policy and the employers offensive on wages and conditions. This has only been made possible by the growing Government intervention to blackmail workers into acceptance by threats of closure or withdrawal of financial support.
 - 2) This would not have been possible without the integration of the trade union leadership including left-wing officials and a layer of convenors and stewards into the Government's strategy. The Communist Party, because of its links with the trade union bureaucracy and its political orientation on the Labour Government has also been pulled sharply to the right. The alternative to compliance with government policy entails not only the active organisation of the rank and file, but also being prepared to take on the government and this is not able to be done by the trade union bureaucracy or the Communist Party. This has produced a crisis of confidence among militant workers, as lack of industrial action for firemen. The employers and the government are taking advantage of this to move onto the offensive in a way which was inconceivable a year ago.
 - 3) The objective situation requires a rank and file movement as never before, but argument is harder where the level of struggle is low. Also the success of the government's wages offensive is swaying their electoral support when workers are not aware of militant or political alternatives. The imminence of the General Election poses the problem even more sharply for us. The role of the government and of a socialist alternative becomes central in avoiding for the rank and file movement and in intervening in time.

4) At the same time as the industrial struggle has gone into sharp decline the Socialist Workers Party has taken important initiatives in the largest agricultural and several opposition which has led to substantial recruitment and pulled a substantial radical periphery away from us.

Unless the Socialist Workers Party can turn the majority of these new recruits to work in an orientation on the workplace these gains will be ephemeral and ignorant. In practice the workplace orientation during the anti-National Front activity merely delayed the inevitability of facing up to the question.
(etc.)

5) Main priority must be to integrate these increasingly diverse areas of socialist Workers Party activity into an overall perspective. We have to recognise that we face several more months with the class on the offensive, but at a certain point the beginning of a fightback is inevitable. Then the key question will be whether we have the workplace base to intervene in struggles and generalise them.

The debate on perspectives was completed in accordance with the timetable at 3.30 pm and Lindsey GRIFFIN then permitted the delegates a short respite to obtain refreshments before introducing Chris HARRIS to open the discussion for the next session.

57. Communist Party, United Front and left Unite

FALCON informed the delegates that two recent events had highlighted a severe crisis currently affecting the Communist Party. The Anti-Nazi League Carnival had confirmed that, although possessing a membership some three times larger than the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party had failed to play a leading role in the growing anti-racist movement. Indeed, the lack political caution linked with a state of decay within the structures of the party itself had meant failure to take advantage of the potential available in this field of important political activity. The industrial strategy of the Communist Party had also suffered a setback which, at best could be called catastrophic when it was considered that for many years the party had been the bastion of left-wing militancy within the trade union movement. The electoral result of the 'Broad Left' in the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the Communist Party's traditionally strongest union, had been a setback for the entire left but could only be considered a complete disaster for the Communist Party leaving its central strategy for 'left advance in the unions' in shreds.

The policies of the party on sexism, the rejection of the need to build a grass-roots rank and file organisation while the 'Broad Left' held the balance of power on the Trade Union Committee (TUC), the insistence of concentrating on purely electoral strategies in a dying 'Broad Left' electoral machine, and the policy of influencing the course of union policy by complete subservience to the senior trade union officials were all signs of a political policy which had been dead in the past and the results of which were being caused by the Communist Party as a complete failure in industrial activity.

58. Having dealt with the failure of the Communist Party to make any gains from the more radical periphery concerned with the anti-racist movement and the collapse of its industrial strategy, he then spent a considerable time examining the fall in membership of the party over the past four years and the dichotomy of opinion within the ranks between traditional 'Broad Left' viewpoints and an emerging intellectual 'right wing' influenced considerably by principles of Stalinism and/or Maoism. For these new 'social democrats' within the Communist Party the basic premise was that ideas and ideology (unquestioned set of ideas) could be changed as a result of a struggle at the level of ideas alone, completely overlooking the working class struggle as being irrelevant. Despite considerable pressure amongst sections of the Communist Party which had been brought up to reject idealism and concentrate on the organised class struggle, the fact that this new periphery was willing to join the party was seen as a good enough reason for their acceptance. However, the intellectual perestroika had merely been searching for a base from which to project their ideas to the workers movement and the Communist Party which was desperate for new members at that time was convinced that it could effectively control its membership, even though a division of political thought existed.

59. The outcome was a split which developed within the Communist Party between the 'New Right' who wished to concentrate on 'communism', emphasising the importance of the struggle against wage controls as an integral part of the struggle for socialism and the rebuilding of the 'Morning Star' into a publication capable of building a Broad Democratic Alliance by concentrating on 'the day to day assessment and analysis of problems connected with the workers', women's, black', gay' and students' movements. This challenge by the 'New Right' within the organisation had led to a violent debate internally centred upon the rebuilding of the party structure, a complete overhaul of the bureaucratic norms in which the organisation is run and the necessary 'democratisation' of the editorial board of the 'Morning Star'.

60. Having dealt with the various internal problems of the Communist Party, Hartman explained that it was crucial for the Socialist Workers Party to be totally cognisant of the effect that the resultant strife was having on the industrially based

Communist Party militants. It was evident that there was a growing number of those members who were prepared, following the breakdown of the 'left' alternative strategy of their party, to work alongside members of the Socialist Workers Party and in some cases even transfer their membership.

61. An open letter from the Socialist Workers Party to the Communist Party a year previously had forced the leadership of the latter to make a public apology and acknowledge the assistance of the Socialist Workers Party for the first time and more recently, after initially refusing to participate in the Anti-Nazi League, the Communist Party had found it necessary to reverse this policy and increase their involvement in anti-racist politics. Thus, the leadership, although internally sectarian, had been forced to acknowledge the growing presence of the Socialist Workers Party and peripheral groups, thus being a real pointer to the possibility of relating to members of the Communist Party in the workplace, the unions and on estates. This was not an opportunity to be missed as the Communist Party was very much on the defensive, both with regard to anti-racist activity and industrial work. District, branch and sections of the Socialist Workers Party should therefore consider how to propose specific unity in action to individual members of the Communist Party or local branches of the organisation itself. This should not be seen as a trick, but as a genuine way forward to build a strong resistance to racism and combat the drift to the 'right' within the trade union movement. It was the responsibility of the Socialist Workers Party to bridge the gap between the decline of the Communist Party and the emergence of the developing revolutionary left by working with them when necessary, whilst at the same time defeating their ideas on import controls, immigration controls, the Labour 'left' and two-crown leadership by strong political argument as well as practical application.

62. Lindsey GLENISTER thanked RUSSELL for his contribution which was specifically related towards the relationship between the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party and then introduced Tony GLEFFY, the intellectual 'guru' of the Central Committee, to develop the essential reasons behind the necessity for unity amongst left-wing revolutionary groups.

63. GLEFFY commenced by emphasising that it was necessary at the present time for members of revolutionary left-wing groups to unite in action against the right-wing in the labour movement (as well as the Tories and the Nazis). The 'left' to which it was essential to relate, however, was not approachable in organisational terms as it was composed of members from within other factions who, in many cases, did not necessarily wish to become part of the structure of the Socialist Workers Party. Thus, it was essential to develop small groups which were easily influenced and win for the Party the reputation of being the most consistent and

energetic group in the fight for unity in action against the 'right'. This conception of fighting for unity in action had to be a central part of all industrial and trade union work undertaken by the membership of the Socialist Workers Party and in order for the scheme to be totally effective it was essential that the membership fully understood the significance of the problem.

64. It had to be recognised that in certain areas of work there had been a growth of the political left which was independent of both the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, eg students with the SSA, hospital workers with CLASH, various local Socialist Unity electoral committees and socialist feminists. The main point about all these groups was that the International Marxist Group had claimed them as external groupings within the wider internal part of the organisation, whereas in actual fact the International Marxist Group membership within the group themselves was in the minority, the remainder consisting of former International Socialists, various 'centrists' and, most important of all, many persons who were new to politics and considered 'unity' as the overall principle rather than membership of any specific sectarian group.

65. If these formations involved only the International Marxist Group and old 'centrists' it might have been possible to ignore them, but when the problem was examined in detail it became apparent that the membership also consisted of a large number of persons who, but for the barrier created by the political differences amongst the revolutionary left-wing groups, would become an important part of the periphery of the Socialist Workers Party. Thus it was essential not to create a greater barrier by writing off these formations as sectarian fronts as this was the very tactic which would alienate the non-aligned members and drive them further towards the clutches of the other sects involved.

66. whilst the development of the Anti-Nazi League was an excellent method of connecting a relationship with those new, non-aligned elements, that by itself would not solve the problem as there were persons within that group who were attracted by 'softer' political alternatives. It would thus be necessary to develop a very flexible political approach to the problem by openly stating that any development to the left of the Labour Government was welcomed, eg the success of the Socialist Student Alliance in the election of three of their members to the executive of the National Union of Students - this necessarily being qualified at a later stage by a statement that it was impossible to sustain any advance to the left without building a revolutionary party. It had to be accepted that persons within the 'unity' formations might not be able to accept this initially, but it would be important on the membership of the Socialist Workers Party to work with them in particular political struggles whilst continuing to advance this central point and, in time,

were then given to a basic understanding of the reasons for revolutionary politics. As part of this approach, there had to be found of involving the non-sectarian elements in joint activities and on every occasion it had to be made exceedingly clear that the Socialist Workers Party was willing to undertake joint work in relation to external problems affecting both groups but would maintain its direction regarding the necessity for a party basis.

67. Finally, CLIFF suggested that this overall tactical approach could not be adopted successfully unless the International Marxist Group and its allied factions were placed in the defensive situation with regard to their position. The Socialist Workers Party would therefore have to act in such a manner to prove that it was capable of building a working-class revolutionary party which was open to any person prepared to abandon sectarian attitudes for that end, although it would be necessary to impose certain restrictions on membership to prevent elements from the International Marxist Group resorting to 'enclavist' tactics which would undoubtedly lead to a destructive faction fight.

68. The speech or presented by HARRIS and CLIFF proved to be an excellent basis for debate amongst delegates on the correct future orientation of the Party in relation to the Communist Party and other smaller groups around which the tactic of 'left unity' and 'United front' would be based. However, the discussion was eventually ended by Lindsey GERMAN, the chairperson, when time ran out and prior to the conclusion of the session a binding resolution was declared consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] They presented the following resolution which was carried by a unanimous vote the following morning.

Communist Party (resolution)

The downturn in the level of class struggle over the past period has been contributed to by the leadership of the Communist Party. This indicates their continued influence in the working class and also reflects the rightward drift of the Communist Party. In order to win the leadership by influencing the most militant sections of the class, it is clear that the Socialist Workers Party must cease to be the super-critics and offer a political and industrial alternative to Communist Party militants, even more important, to influence others on their fringes.

The events of the last year have shown the bankruptcy of the Communist Party's trade union strategy. Their alternative economic policy has been adopted by the Unite Union Congress with nil effect. Their policy of getting left union leaders in positions of influence has been totally exposed by the Bowler-Duffy affair.

The Communist Party's political strategy of buying for a leftward turn in the Labour Party has attracted to them a lot of right-wing, social democratic intellectuals. The Communist Party is now riven with arguments, including a powerful case for the Communist Party not to stand any candidates in the elections. So much for their parliamentary road to socialism.

The resulting fall in Communist Party membership and 'Morning Star' sales is nothing we should gloat about. In no way can we write off the significant support that Communist Party ideas still have within the movement, especially in major industrial areas. The Communist Party is still very much alive in parts of the Anti-Nazi League. In some unions where the Communist Party is now in opposition again, after the defeat by the Right, they are even talking about the need to mobilise the rank and file.

In the past the Socialist Workers Party has tended just to use slogans about the need for united action with the Communist Party. Today there are both political and industrial opportunities for every Socialist Workers Party branch and district where the Communist Party exists. We have part of our constituency within the Communist Party. To win them and rank and file members of the Communist Party, we need to show in practice that our organisation is a credible and better alternative for the defence of the working class and the advance of its interests.

This means:-

- 1) Approaching the Communist Party members and branches to build the Anti-Nazi League especially at the local level and with the emphasis on the workplace. We can prove that our rank and file approach to building the Anti-Nazi League and fighting racism is better than relying on tired old trade union bureaucracies.
- 2) Many Communist Party candidates are opposing the Labour Party in elections and there is no revolutionary alternative than Socialist Workers Party members should vote for them.
- 3) Socialist Workers Party branches and districts must genuinely sound out possibilities of joint work especially on international solidarity campaigns and women's issues.
- 4) We must encourage open and friendly political discussions with Communist Party members where possible involving them in activity in the workplace, eg preparing mass meetings together.

- 5) The Young Communist League has been active in several areas on the issue of youth unemployment and the PNUC, we must not shy away from working with the Communist Party in this area.
- 6) Around the theme of "stop the drift to the right in the Trade Union movement", members in workplaces and fractions must open up discussions with the Communist Party aimed at rank and file unity in action to stop the right wing.

These approaches must be made in the most friendly and fraternal way possible, after all Communist Party members are often now in Foster retreat in the face of the right-wing. Then we find ourselves. But this must not be done at the expense of Socialist Workers Party politics - our belief of rank and file organization and our rejection of the parliamentary road to socialism.

Conference suggests that branches and districts should organize discussions and training about the Communist Party and its politics to ensure that our members are sufficiently prepared to win the arguments for revolution against reformism. We should not imagine that the response to these initiatives will be met with open arms, we must make the Communist Party an offer they can't refuse.

69. Lindsey GUNNAR then introduced the final session of the day - The National Advisory Committee, Party Council and Internal Bulletin. Dennis HALLAS once again mounting the rostrum to provide delegates with the background to these important items of internal party democracy.

70. National Advisory Committee, Party Council and Internal Bulletin.

He explained to the delegates that prior to the 1977 Conference, the central leadership of the Socialist Workers Party consisted of a small, full-time Central Committee which was elected on an annual basis at Conference, together with a large Party Council which met once a quarter and consisted of delegates elected by districts on the basis of one for every fifty members plus representatives from fractions (in practice the Central Committee implemented the 1 in 50 rule as meaning that all small branches were entitled to one delegate even though their membership was considerably smaller). The benefit of this system was that it involved every section of the organization and changes in policy between Conference (such as the decision to found the Socialist Workers Party from the International Socialist and without local elections) were placed before this representative delegate body for initial approval. Though strictly a consultative body, the Central Committee had nevertheless come to accept that it was necessary in the first instance to gain the approval of the Party Council before attempting to implement any new measure.

71. However, the Party Council had hardly ever been a source of initiative and due to the size of its membership had never developed any leading national cadre. Thus it was more appropriate to a Committee on the need of the Party, rather than an effective policy making body or a source of feedback from the struggles of its more advanced sections. The conclusion reached by the Central Committee was that it was essential for the Party Council to be retained, but that a smaller National Advisory Committee should be formulated, involving leading district cadres and industrial militants, which would be capable of building an effective national cadre and leading the revolutionary party whilst at the same time providing for change and renewal of the Central Committee membership.

72. This introduction was given specifically as factual background on the existence of the Party Council and National Advisory Committee which, together with the Central Committee, had been the subject of severe criticism in resolutions submitted to Conference by various branches and districts throughout the country.

73. These resolutions formed the basis of the debate which followed and it is not intended to deal in detail with the individual contributions of the delegates concerned, but to present a review of the points raised. The general feeling within the rank and file membership of the Party was that they were generally uninformed on many of the more important issues regarding party policy, particularly in respect of decisions taken by the Central Committee and the reasons behind those decisions. This had resulted in a situation where the basic democratic structure of the Party was likely to break down in the face of bureaucratic methods adopted by the leadership, and it was therefore of maximum importance that the Central Committee should be made to debate new policies with the rank and file membership before adopting them as Party policy. This could be possible through the offices of the National Advisory Committee, which would have to meet at least six times a year, and an increase in the publication of the 'Internal Bulletin' which could be utilized to a much greater extent for the debate of new policies, the reporting of National Advisory Committee meetings and other such items of importance to the rank and file membership.

74. In the event, once all the delegates had raised their individual criticisms and had the benefit of replies assuring an improvement in the future on the part of the Central Committee, there was little else to discuss and so a drafting committee was formulated, consisting of Duncan HALLAS and Simon BURKE, which produced the following short resolution to be carried by a unanimous decision the following day:-

Delegates Committee on Internal Bulletin

(Chairperson)

resolved that the following leading committees be retained and with the following stipulations:-

- 1) That the National Advisory Committee shall meet at approximately two-monthly intervals (except where Party Council or Conference intervenes), agenda to be properly prepared.
- 2) A bi-monthly Internal Bulletin to be produced, except other material to contain a post National Advisory Committee summary.
- 3) That the Party Council shall meet once a year, at least, between Conferences.

Motions were proposed for the Internal Bulletin to be produced on a monthly basis, reports of Central Committee debates to be included in the Internal Bulletin and for the formation of an editorial board for the bulletin. All were defeated.

15. The business for the first day was then concluded and Lindsey GENTIL thanked the Delegates for their attention and reminded them of the venue for the two social events which had been organised for their benefit (see paragraph 14), before closing the conference at 6 pm.

76.

Sunday 16 June 1978

AGENDA

| | | |
|---------------|---|--------------------------------|
| 9.30 - 10.00 | - | Drafting Commission Reports |
| 10.00 - 12.00 | - | Socialist Worker |
| 12.00 - 1.00 | - | Socialist Review |
| 1.00 - 2.00 | - | Lunch |
| 2.00 - 3.30 | - | Central Committee Report |
| 3.30 - 4.30 | - | Anti-Nazi League |
| 4.30 - 6.00 | - | Youth and School Students |
| 6.00 - 7.00 | - | Black Work and Fighting Racism |

77. The morning session was opened promptly at 9.30am by Simon TURNER, the National Secretary, who addressed a depleted gathering of delegates and explained that many of the party members from the London area would not be present until the afternoon, due to an important Anti-Nazi League demonstration in support of the Asian community which was being staged at Brick Lane E1. In view of this, it had been necessary to completely reorganise the agenda for the afternoon session to enable the Anti-Nazi League Organiser, Paul HOLKOROW, to attend the demonstration in the morning and arrive at the conference in time to give a report and lead off the discussion on the Anti-Nazi League.

78. With the assistance of Duncan HALLAS, TURNER then dealt with the voting on drafting commission resolutions which had been prepared as a result of discussion held the previous day. All the motions were carried, either "nom. con." or by substantial majorities, and having completed this section of the agenda, the first item to be dealt with was 'Socialist Worker', the party newspaper, and TURNER informed the delegates that the report on this topic would be given by the editor, Jim NICHOL.

Socialist Worker

79. NICHOL initially informed the delegates that they would find a considerable amount of statistical information concerning the production and sales figures for 'Socialist Worker' in their personal conference document folders (an analysis of these figures is given in Appendices 7 and 8 - pages 14-15).

80. He explained that during the past year efforts had been made by the editorial staff to produce a lively and informative paper whilst at the same time maintaining the correct political orientation to the mass working class movement. In order that the publication could be used to organise the readers as well as expanding on political theory. The existence of a successful revolutionary newspaper was imperative to combat the propaganda of the ruling class circulated on a daily basis by the capitalist press and other forms of media. The paper would have to successfully generalise from every experience, whether connected with nuclear fuel or a strike, and turn the discussion into political argument for socialist planning or the case for a rank and file movement. By this means, the paper could be used as a method of organising and enlightening the mass periphery surrounding the Socialist Workers Party etc, although at present were willing to fight alongside the membership on specific issues, needed the persuasion of correct political discussion in order to convince them of the need to join the party. In the same way that the 'Socialist Worker' had been used as the springboard to launch the Right to Work Campaign, it had to be used in the future to develop the Anti-Nazi League and draw towards the party those who accepted the specific arguments on racism and the necessity to combat the fascist menace.

81. Having reasoned for a new useful revolutionary paper, NICHOL then dealt with the responsibilities of party members for distributing 'Socialist Worker'. He spent a considerable time itemising the duties of district 'Socialist Worker' organisers, and then concluded by suggesting that it was the responsibility of every party member to initiate and increase sales on local streets and housing estates, and in factories, workplaces and union branches.

82. Simon THOMAS then opened the subject for debate and it became quite apparent at an early stage that the topic was likely to become one of the most contentious issues at Conference, the delegates being divided on two main issues - (1) the basic content of the publication and its relation to the activities of the Socialist Workers Party and (2) the layout and presentation of the paper itself. (It should be explained at this time that the editorial staff and structural organisation of the paper had been completely revamped some five months previously on the initiative of the National Advisory Committee and the Central Committee and the majority of the criticisms and suggestions were related to the manner in which 'Socialist Worker' had developed from that time. Thus the discussion inevitably centred on a vote of confidence in the editorial staff of the paper and it is intended to incorporate all the issues into a general appraisal of the problem and then give the three resolutions formulated by the various factional drafting committees).

8). Criticisms were based on the changes in content and format of the paper which had been implemented in order to produce a 'less boring and predictable' publication having greater appeal to the wider periphery who were not directly connected with the Socialist Workers Party. Thus, the problem which had arisen concerned the manner in which two contradictory demands were resolved - deriving a 'simpler' paper with more articles of 'human interest value', to which persons of limited political theoretical knowledge could relate, whilst at the same time presenting a thorough Marxist-orientated political analysis of the same problem on which could be based the organisation of the Party membership in their fight for the rights of the working class movement. The net result of appeasing both viewpoints was a 'watering-down' of the political theoretical content and a corresponding increase in emphasis on broader issues such as the fight against racism and fascism.

9). The solution to the problem, based on points raised by the delegates, was to correct the balance of the paper in the future by expanding the coverage of industrial matters and analysing the individual struggles of the workers involved, increasing the number of articles which dealt with the policies of the Socialist Workers Party in relation to workplace orientation and building the Rank and File Movement and, finally, maintaining the present level of reporting on broader issues such as the fight against racism and fascism whilst improving the political analysis on such topics.

10. Eventually, Simon TURNER was forced to call the delegates to order and close the debate in order that a drafting commission could be elected to formulate a resolution on the matter under discussion. Due to the considerable divergence of opinion amongst the delegates it was not surprising, therefore, that three separate commissions were elected, all of which presented their resolutions the following day. The content of the resolutions and members of the drafting commissions concerned were as follows:-

Socialist Worker (Resolution 1)

LAGGING NOT SLACKING

1. By and large we welcome the attempts over recent months to experiment and develop new ways of presenting our ideas in Socialist Worker.

2. However, we feel that in a number of key areas there have been serious gaps which must be filled.

3. Although major industrial confrontations are not on at present, the class struggle has not disappeared. We don't have Grunwick or the firemen, but the low level of struggle has brought with it a confusion of ideas about where we go from here. Socialist Worker must tackle these arguments - not avoid them. These are political stances which many workers clutch at,

ng toolroom workers (are they right?), the Lucas answer (is it on?), Left Alternative Strategy (what do we say?... why did Speke go down the drain?), Can redundancy be fought in non-profitable firms?, the employees' offensive: prod deals, wholesale victimisation.

b. Last year the argument for a Rank and File movement was much easier; and the officials, unite and fight. When the arguments become more complex (stop the retreat), the need for a Rank and File movement does not disappear - but must be tackled in a different way. We have to find three ways. Some of the Rank and File papers are already doing this.

c. In order to overcome these problems we propose that some of the enthusiasm which has been dedicated to other areas in the paper be channelled as well into developing the industrial pages. In particular we suggest the following ideas as experiments:

1. Rebuilding workplace organisation - how it was done in the past, how to do it now, combine and grievance committees, fighting for union elections.
2. Workplace bulletins and Rank and File papers.
3. Health and Safety, the law and advice on profits, wages, rates etc.
4. Rank and File contact - for workers to contact others in the same combine or industry.

In other words, to say that the paper is wonderful is nonsense. But it's not rubbish either. We, the members and journalists, have to combine the enthusiasm, experiment and new ideas that our new readers in SWP, ANL, Women's Voice etc have brought with them, with the struggle at the point of production.

Given that 25 per cent of the papers are sold inside the workplace and that these readers are regular and look to Socialist Worker for a politicised, it is vital that the paper avoids the political confusion and omissions of recent months. The role of the party and its organiser, the paper, is to impart the best of every facet of the struggle.

This resolution was prepared by

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86.

Socialist Worker (Resolution 2)

In the present period of quantum in class struggle Socialist Worker has to relate to several peripheries. The

Socialist Worker is still our organiser - both of our political ideas and activities. It cannot 'build a periphery' without the Socialist Workers Party or on the basis of diluting our politics. It must orientate on the politicized periphery that already exists via the Anti-Nazi League, Grunwicks, the trade union sell-outs of last year etc. and in our workplaces.

Prior to the new Socialist Worker, it was true that the paper had to some extent become too predictable. But the product which emerged from the shake-up is now unsatisfactory.

Conference argues that there are three peripheries: in the workplace, street/youth periphery and the bland between these which emerges most clearly in the Anti-Nazi League, where we are working with Communist Party members, Labour Lefts and so on. So relate to them and from them towards us, it is not enough to express and expose the resentments they are feeling. We must answer the political questions they are asking. The paper has not been consistently doing this.

Take this as it's Socialist Worker. An article about a major success in a Fire Brigades Union election was headlined 'Firemen put the heat on Mr Patten' and not 'Fire Brigades Union election boosts Rank and File'. The personal comes to the fore at the expense of the political. And the article on fascism (aside from the waste of a whole page) lacked a cutting edge by failing to argue a serious strategy for the way forward.

We must fully answer the questions posed to us by a minority of readers in each and every trade union and workplace.

Last year, we could use the paper agitpropally. Workers were on the move so we could put demands like '£15 Now'. Now we have to take up a whole range of issues: to explain why things are as they are. Why is inflation apparently falling? Why is Labour apparently more popular? Why is the right-wing in the unions growing? Why is there a youth rebellion? Why isn't equal pay being given? Why don't the police defend blacks against the racists? Why have several punks joined the Socialist Workers Party?

There are good ideas in the present paper - like the TV and Sports Column, the new letters page, the Sacrifice Corner, and the International page, like the more open approach to non-Socialist Workers Party members.

But all these must hang around one key theme that connects with the immediate tasks of the Socialist Workers Party: the workplace orientation. However difficult it may be to build the Socialist Workers Party in the workplace right now we must continue to argue in Socialist Worker what we believe should be done.

We must keep an interventionist edge arguing strategy and tactics in the trade union struggle. We can still recruit new members and increase our political influence in the workplace provided Socialist Worker does relate to the concerns of this periphery.

The Socialist Worker must give our members the confidence to argue the more complicated issues raised by the period we are

[REDACTED]

in, and so drew in that periphery they have around them.

Socialist Worker has lost that central orientation. It must again become the best paper for all industrial militants to read. And it must remain the most exciting political paper for all rebels and socialists to read. We don't want 'more' of what we've had in terms of pure popular journalism. The question is how we can imaginatively draw militants and rebels towards the Socialist Workers Party. Finally Conference believes:-

1. Every week there should be a minimum of four regular industrial pages, instead of the present three;
2. There should be a regular Socialist Workers Party activities page in the paper (featuring bulletins, factory gate tales, drama etc);
3. The logo 'Paper of the SWP' should be returned to page one.

[REDACTED]

Privacy [REDACTED] Privacy
[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

This resolution was proposed by [REDACTED] and, when presented to Conference, was accepted with the following amendment which was carried 'unanimously':-

Conference notes that an open debate in Socialist Worker on racism would not include racist insults, reiterates that racist insults have been considered permissible in the past and trusts that this will not recur.

87.

Socialist Worker (Resolution 1)

The readers of Socialist Worker are made up of a wide variety of people - from the youth and anti-fascists who have taken to the streets to trade union militants who may have been in the socialist movement for years.

In a period of industrial downturn Socialist Worker has naturally focused on the struggle against racism and fascism (carnival etc) but has failed - on a number of important occasions - to give proper industrial coverage.

The balance of the paper has been upset and needs to be corrected. We welcome the re-launching of Socialist Worker and improvements made in presentation and hope that such development's continue.

However, we reject the over-use of artistic newspaper design at the expense of much needed articles in the paper.

Conference therefore instructs the Socialist Worker editorial board and the Central Committee to restore the balance of the paper by paying attention to the following areas:-

1. Socialist Worker has to continually explain

[REDACTED]

and analyse how the employers are using trade union officials to attack workers' wages, conditions and rights. For example, the job slaughter at Speke and in Leyland in general, in the British Steel Corporation and a whole number of major industries. Because of this political situation, there is a large layer of disaffected workers who desperately want an alternative (revolutionary) spelled out clearly and in detail. This alternative not only spells out the particular needs of an industry but the overall political alternative of workers running things better than their Labour politicians, etc between.

2. That Socialist Worker should reflect the ideas of the best elements of our class who have been sold out by their traditional 'left leaders' and want to really fight the employers' offensive. Part of this job means that Socialist Worker should try every week to comment on the major political developments so that both our own members and readers can answer the 'what does the Socialist Workers Party say about this, that and the other?'

3. That Socialist Worker as a major orientation in the present political situation hammer home the message 'Stay the course - Build the Rank and File'. As part of this strategy, it is essential that the Socialist Workers Party fractions provide news and features for Socialist Worker that show the limited initiative that comrades have started. It is also important to integrate industrial department staff into industrial coverage of the paper.

4. The 'opening out' of Socialist Worker to its readers is welcomed but was not gone far enough. An urgent priority should be to get more black workers, women and strikers themselves to write for the paper.

This resolution was devised by [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] and Jim NICHOL (the editor of 'Socialist Worker').

5. The fact that three separate resolutions had been prepared on this subject gave rise to problems when the delegates voted. Duncan MILLIS resolved the matter by holding a separate vote on each resolution, this resulting in Resolution 1 and Resolution 2 being carried by large majorities, whilst Resolution 3 was defeated. He then suggested that the drafting commission responsible for the two successful motions should amalgamate and compose one final resolution to include all the salient points already presented. However, this was not acceptable to the delegates, due to the time factor and the necessity of those involved to sit on other drafting commissions, and it was finally agreed that the two resolutions should both be allowed to stand. (It is of interest that the resolution prepared by Jim NICHOL, the editor of 'Socialist Worker', was defeated - a portent of events to occur some three months later, when the entire editorial board of the paper was changed and NICHOL himself was sacked as editor).

[REDACTED]

80. The debate on 'Socialist Worker' was completed later than the scheduled time and so CALLINICOS immediately introduced Alex CALLINICOS, a member of the Central Committee, to deal with the subject of 'Socialist Review'.

90. Socialist Review

CALLINICOS informed the delegates that 'Socialist Review' had been conceived as a popular socialist magazine which would convey ideas and information to the membership and periphery of the Socialist Workers Party in a more lively and comprehensive format than its predecessor, 'International Socialism' (the IS Journal). In order to achieve this aim, great efforts had been made to present the magazine with an 'open' image by including articles from members of other 'left-wing' groups whose politics did not necessarily concur with those of the Socialist Workers Party. This was not to be seen as a dilution of the ideals and politics of the Party, but rather as an attempt to present important items of political debate in a more effective manner.

91. The greatest change from the old 'International Socialism' was an increase in the amount of space devoted to cultural issues. Whilst this new policy was considered to be absolutely correct (the Party having suffered in the past from a rather narrow and introverted form of politics), there was a multitude of dangers inherent in allowing non-members of the Party to contribute on these issues and the ease with which other sections of the 'far left' (eg ex-members of the Party or the International Marxist Group) could use the magazine as a platform for their reformist politics. A much more difficult task was the development of the prime purpose of the Journal ie to cause debates between the Party members and 'reformist left' on the major issues affecting the British Labour movement. He then pointed out that it was far too easy to "allow the magazine to live off the success gained by relating to a 'petit-bourgeois milieu' and, in the long term, failing to take advantage of the opportunity to engage the 'reformist left' in necessary political debate.

92. The major problem regarding the publication was rooted deep within the Party itself and whilst the majority of the membership considered 'Socialist Review' to be an excellent step forward from the staid 'International Socialism', there had been little or no increase in the number of articles and letters submitted for publication by the rank and file members themselves and this needed to be corrected.

93. Having dealt with the general issues surrounding the publication, CALLINICOS then discussed at length the production and sales figures for 'Socialist Review' (see Appendix 10 - page 19). It was apparent from the statistics produced that there was a considerable wastage between the total 'print-run' for each of the issues published and the

total number of copies which were actually sold. Without labouring the fact that the income from sales had failed to cover the production costs (at least for the first three issues) and additional expenses incurred by 'Socialist Review' as a subsidiary of Socialist Worker Distributors (the print shop), he finally urged all delegates to ensure that individual districts increased their orders for the magazine and, more important, established regular profitable monthly sales which would then enable 'Socialist Review' to remain a viable proposition.

Qs. There then followed a short period of discussion before Simon TURNER closed the debate and a drafting committee, consisting of Alex CALLINICOS, Pete GOWTHORPE and Gareth JONES was elected. These three persons produced the following resolution which was carried "unanimously" the next morning:-

Socialist Review (Resolution)

1. The decision to replace the monthly IS Journal with Socialist Review arises from the need to provide both our members and our periphery, especially those drawn into politics over the last couple of years, with the sort of in-depth analysis and argument that Socialist Worker as a weekly agitational paper cannot by its nature provide.

This implies a magazine that presents a politics in a lively and accessible form, that deals with a wide range of issues - culture, as well as 'politics' narrowly defined, and that is open to non-SWP members to contribute. This in no sense represents a dilution of our politics - rather an attempt to present them more effectively through debate in the Review with socialists of widely divergent viewpoints.

2. So far, Socialist Review has achieved a modest success in achieving its aim and Conference therefore welcomes its appearance. The very rapid growth in sales through bookshops (100 for the last monthly 'IS Journal' - 1,500 for Socialist Review No 3) and the sale of 500 copies at Carnival show that it is a magazine with much broader appeal than the old 'IS Journal'.

3. However, problems remain:

First, the discussion and analysis needs to be more firmly directed towards the issues of relevance to militants in their workplaces and in particular towards debating the politics of Left-reformism, (more clearly defining where we differ with non-SWP contributors).

Secondly, the sales of Socialist Review through the Socialist Workers Party, as reflected by money paid to the centre, are very low. This suggests that branches have not woken up to the Review's potential.

1. Branches/Districts should take the following steps to ensure that Socialist Review sales are increased:-

1. Appoint a competent comrade as Socialist Review Organiser.
2. Collect/send off money regularly (money from the previous issue should be paid within a week of the following issue appearing).
3. Offer Socialist Review to all regular Socialist Worker readers.
4. Sell Socialist Review at all Socialist Workers Party meetings and demonstrations.
5. Aim to sell two copies per member. In addition branches/districts should use Socialist Review as a basis for educational activities and to encourage debates, where appropriate, with other tendencies on the left, or the Communist Party, 'the Labour Left', around the issues raised by Socialist Review.

95. Promptly at 1pm, TUNNICLIFFE closed the morning session and informed the delegates that transport was available for a limited number of provincial delegates to attend Brick Lane 11 where they could experience the 'blatant fascist activity of the National Front and supporters' at first hand. However, he then reminded them that this should not be allowed to interfere with the Conference business which would resume at 7pm sharp.

96. The comments made by TUNNICLIFFE prior to the lunch break proved of little avail as it was 7.30pm before he considered that sufficient delegates were in attendance for the afternoon session to commence (the remainder managing to return before 1.30pm - in time for the debate on the Anti-Nazi League) and it was only then that he introduced PAUL PARKER, the Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party Central Commission to give a report on internal security matters for the period 1977-78.

97. Central Commission Report:

Before delivering his report, PARKER reminded the delegates that there was a need for absolute secrecy regarding the composition and activities of the Central Commission which was responsible for internal security and discipline within the Socialist Workers Party.

98. He then stated that the level of serious internal strife requiring intervention by the Central Commission had dropped to an all-time low when compared with previous years. There were only five cases during the period

between the 1977 and 1978 Conferences which had been notified to the Commission for investigation or ratification. In view of the absence of issues notified from any source, no full meetings of the Central Commission were held between Conferences, although two Central Commission hearings were held at short notice involving co-opted members for specific cases.

93. The five matters referred to the Central Commission during the period June 1977 to June 1978 were as follows:-

1. November 1977 - The registration of comrade 'NP' (Notley Branch) had been vetoed by the Branch Committee pending an agreement from him that he would stop being a disruptive influence on branch meetings and other activities. He was informed of his right of appeal to the Central Commission, but since that time nothing more had been heard.
2. November 1977 - Information was received that a member 'CN', who was a lecturer at the University of East, had been employed by the Iranian Embassy to gather as much information as possible on Iranian students in the country. Following an investigation by two members of the Central Commission (Duncan HALLIDAY and Ted RABINOWITZ) and two co-opted members (Simon THOMAS and [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED]) it was established that his involvement was neither than malicious, but there was no alternative in the circumstances to expel the comrade from the Party - a decision which he readily accepted.
3. December 1977 - Comrade 'AD' (Glydebank Branch) was expelled from the Party by the Glasgow West District Committee for assaulting another member of the Socialist Workers Party with a beer glass. In view of the nature of the incident, there was no need for the decision to be endorsed by the Central Commission, although the right of appeal was notified to the comrade through the relevant district committee.
4. April 1978 - A former member of the Socialist Workers Party who had previously been expelled (reasons not disclosed) had approached Croydon Branch seeking re-admission to the Party. He was referred to the National Secretary and wrote to party headquarters asking whether the expulsion was to be revoked at any time in the future. Following a re-examination of his case by members of the Central Commission he was informed that this would not be possible under any circumstances.
5. May 1978 - The South West London District Committee requested that the Central Commission investigate two matters which were closely inter-related due to the personalities involved:-
 - a. The first issue was the behaviour of three recently recruited members, 'NP', 'SH' and 'BS'. Following exploratory talks with two of the three persons concerned by leading party officials, a Central Commission hearing was convened on [REDACTED]

22 May 1975, the Commission consisting of Duncan HALLAS,
Giles WATKINS and Ted DAUCHE together with co-opted members

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'AB', 'CD' and 'DE' were charged with joining the Socialist Workers Party in order to recruit people to their own political tendency which rejected the tradition, strategy and tactics of the Socialist Workers Party, i.e. they were 'entrists' seeking to recruit for another organisation.

The Control Commission, after lengthy deliberations, found the charges proved by a unanimous decision and resolved that the three comrades concerned be expelled.

b. The same Control Commission then went on to consider a second case, connected to the first by reason of the personalities involved.

On 15 May 1975, comrades, 'AB', 'CD' and 'DE' had organised a social gathering at their home. A group of people, including some members of the Socialist Workers Party, who were drinking in the Brixton area heard that 'there was a party on' and arrived at the house after closing time with beer and other drinks. They were refused entry and as a result arguments developed at the front door involving some twenty persons outside. Unfortunately an hour and a half later, after the crowd had gone, a brick was thrown through the window of the living room and then one of the occupants looked out, the garden path appeared to have been torn up. Following this incident, an 'Appeal to all Branches of the Socialist Workers Party' was rushed out by 'AB', 'CD' and 'DE' implying that the crowds had been organised in order to suppress political opposition.

The Control Commission traced the persons named by 'AB', 'CD' and 'DE' and interviewed them, then called four of them who were members of the Socialist Workers Party to the hearing on 22 May 1975 (one was, in fact, not a member but a part-time journalist on the staff of 'Socialist Worker').

The Commission was unable to find any evidence concerning the identity of the individual who threw the brick, although the four members of the Party admitted that they were involved in the earlier shouting incident outside the front door of the house. As a result, two of them ('AB' and 'DE') were suspended from membership for three months and one ('CD') for one month. In relation to the non-member ('CD'), a recommendation was made to the Central Committee that he be relieved from his post on the staff of 'Socialist Worker'.

Finally, the comrades were informed that any repetition of this type of incident might well constitute a reason for expulsion in the future and that, should the Central Committee identify the person who had thrown the brick or anyone who had withheld information on that point, then the individual concerned would be expelled from the Socialist Workers Party at once.

100. Having completed his report, which was deliberately condensed at the request of Simon TURNER in order to return to the time schedule of the agenda, PARKER reminded the delegates that the election of the Control Commission for the coming year would take place during the morning session on Tuesday, 20 June 1978 and requested that they give this matter considerable thought due to the responsible position within the Party held by that body.

101. Simon TURNER thanked PARKER for his contribution and then introduced Paul HOLBROOK to open the main debate of the day on the Anti-Nazi League.

102. The Anti-Nazi League

HOLBROOK, the National Organiser of the Anti-Nazi League, commenced by stressing that 1978 was becoming one of the most important periods for many years regarding the activities of fascists in this country. It was the intention of the extreme right-wing to field many candidates in the forthcoming local elections and already they had committed themselves publicly to standing over three hundred and fifty candidates in the next General Election campaign. If this aim were achieved, the resultant press and television publicity, together with the free delivery of millions of election communications, meant that the 'Nazis' would be able to circulate their propaganda material on a scale which had not been possible before. In addition to their electoral strategy, the fascist groups were also directing their attention to the youth of Britain and were already reporting considerable success in winning over young people to their form of racist politics and activities.

103. He then drew the delegates' attention to the manner in which the 'fascists' were influencing the debate on racial issues in British politics, their policy of repatriation being used increasingly as a point of reference by the Conservative Party and right-wing members of the Labour Party. In support of this theory he cited the 'Blairites' racist' report of the Select Committee on Repatriation, the remarks of Judge Wallerstein and the constant references of the BNP ('the instrument of the capitalist ruling class') to give racists such as the National Front and the PFL their air time. It was, he continued, attitudes and actions such as those which were bringing an air of respectability and legitimacy to the strenuous racist ideals of the National Front and kindred organisations, thus presenting a major threat to the working class and, in particular, the black community in this country. Therefore, it was absolutely necessary for immediate action to be taken to combat the theory of the 'Nazis'.

104. It was HOLBROOK's considered opinion, and indeed that of many leading cadres within the Socialist Workers Party, that the sense of defusing such a threat was already developing in the form of the anti-racist movement which had grown in strength and confidence during the nine months preceding Conference. Resulting from the confrontations at Lewisham and Brick Lane

[REDACTED]

there was a conviction amongst the anti-fascist milieu drawn not only from the traditional revolutionary and student left, but also the wider echelons of the labour and trade union movements, that the progress of the 'fascist menace' could be halted and possibly wiped out.

105. The basic problem facing the Socialist Workers Party was how to relate to the periphery of potential members within the anti-Nazi movement, all of whom were willing to become involved in some form of activity against the 'Nazis', although many did not agree with the Party policy of direct confrontation against the 'Fascists', let alone other Party policies on immigration controls and the Social Contract. The solution had been found in the establishment of the Anti-Nazi League which, during the first few months of its existence, had received a massive response from many thousands of individuals who would in other circumstances be completely alien to the traditional socialist and anti-fascist milieu. Indeed, HOLLOWAY admitted that the success of the Anti-Nazi League had been far greater than the Socialist Workers Party or any other individual anti-fascist organisation could ever have achieved on its own. This great achievement had been created from a programme which, by Socialist Workers Party standards, could at best be described as 'messy' and non-definitive', with no mention of driving the National Front from the streets physically, opposition to immigration controls or the need for a socialist alternative.

106. HOLLOWAY confided in the delegates that the very format of the Anti-Nazi League programme, together with the presence amongst its members of many celebrities and Labour M.P.s, had caused a great deal of concern amongst Party members who considered that by engaging in such an operation, the Party was committing political suicide by compromising its distinctive socialist objectives.

107. He then dispelled this fear by explaining to those present that the Socialist Workers Party could only reap huge benefits from a deep involvement with the Anti-Nazi League and reasoned that once people became actively committed to the fight against the 'Fascists' then the whole political ideology of such people would change rapidly.

108. Having given a broad outline of the way in which the Socialist Workers Party could use the Anti-Nazi League as a 'nursery' for recruiting future members, HOLLOWAY then moved on to deal with the specific areas on which it was necessary to concentrate.

109. He suggested that it was a narrow-minded attitude to confine anti-fascist activity purely to street fighting. The prime target for building the membership of the Anti-Nazi League was the working-class within the trade

[REDACTED]

union bureaucracy was only willing to fight the 'Nazis' on a level of statements and resolutions, it was the responsibility of party members within the League to be seen as the individuals who were actively engaged in fighting the fascists in the factories and on the shop floors. This should be done by rooting out the fascists who were members of unions or held any position of responsibility and enforcing a 'closed shop' policy which forbade anyone with extreme right-wing tendencies from holding union membership. A target of equal importance was the potential membership material which existed amongst the youth of Britain, whether school students, unemployed or young workers and for this reason it was imperative that this source was also exploited to the full. Thus, if a successful recruiting drive for the Anti-Nazi League could be mounted amongst these two very important sections of the periphery, a fertile base could be provided for ensuring an increased membership of the Socialist Workers Party itself.

120. In order to leave adequate time for a thorough debate on the subject, HOLKORW summed up by reminding the delegates that it was essential to build the Anti-Nazi League as a successful mass anti-racist movement and at the same time to recruit the periphery within the League as potential membership material.

111. There then followed several contributions from the floor of the conference supporting ways in which the Anti-Nazi League could be developed as an effective fighting force against the fascists and, secondly, as a major source of new members for the Socialist Workers Party. Eventually Simon TURNER was called to bring the session to a close and a thirteen-man commission was then elected, consisting of Paul HOLKORW,

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These four were responsible for presenting the following resolution which was carried by a unanimous decision the next day:-

The Anti-Nazi League (Resolution)

The Anti-Nazi League represents an important development for anti-racists everywhere. Not only has it inflicted a set-back for the National Front, but it has created the conditions whereby the wider aspects of racism can be taken up (immigration Controls, Thatcher's remarks, repatriation etc).

But there is a real danger of being taken in by the appearance of the League rather than its actual substance. In too many areas of the country the Socialist Workers Party has not consistently committed itself to building the League.

Conference therefore resolves that the building of the League in the following ways is an urgent priority:

1. In the workplace and the trade union movement

Seeking and taking advantage of official Trade Union support is important. But real results will only be obtained inside as this official support provides

[REDACTED]

the opportunity to organize on the shop floor and in the office.

2. Among Youth School Kids

A large proportion of the Carnival was composed of working class youth attracted to exciting ways of combatting racism. Where SWP groups have already been formed, they have proved to be an outstanding success. The leafletting of schools, the organisation of R&B gigs, leafletting of football matches, etc., are all activities which should receive attention, and resources. Our approach and presentation have to be post-electric. (sic)

3. Geographical Branches

Geographical branches of the Anti-Nazi League should be formed on a community, street etc., basis. To keep the Anti-Nazi League just at a town/city level would result in missing many opportunities to involve new activists at a grass-roots level.

4. Women

Building women Against the Nazis, particularly on the housing estates, can throw the doors of the Anti-Nazi League open to an important layer of potential activists who would otherwise be ignored.

5. The United Front

We must seriously investigate how the United Front can be operated at a local level, with the emphasis on unity in action. This applies not only to the Communist Party and the Labour Party, but also to immigrant communities.

Relationship with the Socialist Workers Party

Within the emphasis of building the Anti-Nazi League, the Socialist Workers Party must be clearly identifiable through sales of 'Socialist Worker', articles in 'Socialist Worker', the production and use of pamphlets and contributions at Anti-Nazi League meetings.

Socialist Workers Party districts and branches must be geared to meet the needs and interest of the new contacts. Local activity and meetings must be designed partly to draw these contacts to us.

Conference recognises that Anti-Nazi League activity within the workplace in particular can create an entirely new constituency which can be drawn into both Back and Fill activity and into the Socialist Workers Party.

The real possibilities that exist for the Socialist Workers Party within the anti-Nazi League will only bear fruit if there is meticulous attention paid to detail.

[REDACTED]

Prior to the vote on this resolution the next day, the following amendment was presented to the drafting committee for inclusion in the resolution and, when placed before conference, was carried 'unanimously':

The resolution on the Anti-Nazi League will include the Days against the Nazis section.

112. Immediately following the closure of the debate on the Anti-Nazi League Simon PUGH welcomed Privacy to the platform to lead the session on Youth and School Students.

113. Youth and School Students

Privacy the Party Youth Organizer, opened his speech by informing the delegates that the preceding twelve months had witnessed a considerable escalation in student and youth involvement around activities organised by the Socialist Workers Party. Of equal importance was the present attitude of rebellion amongst the youth in schools and the working class movement which, although orientated around various forms of protest, was nevertheless dominated by anti-racist and anti-capitalist attitudes. This rebellion against any form of authority had been increased by a high level of youth unemployment amongst school leavers, the continual harassment of black youth by the police and a growing awareness of the necessity to combat racism and fascism, all of which had helped to politicise and radicalise the youth of today. Indeed, the lesson to be learned from these symptoms was that young people were becoming increasingly disenchanted with the oppression by the state machinery in its many forms and were in a correct frame of mind to instigate militant action at all levels against those persons and organisations whom they considered to be 'enemies'. Thus, the task of the Socialist Workers Party was to pay and relate to this potential 'militant energy' and harness it into effective political activity.

114. He continued by explaining that School Kids Against the Nazis, Rock Against Racism, the Right to Work Campaign and Flane had all been excellent ways in which the initial barrier between youth and political activity had been broken down.

115. The importance of School Kids Against the Nazis (SKAN) could be gauged from the fact that eight thousand copies of the first issue of 'SKAN' were distributed by the Anti-Nazi League, resulting in an average of 75 letters being received every week by the parent organisation from school students and the formation of local SKAN groups in many areas all over the country. He suggested that the reason for the success achieved by SKAN was based on two factors - primarily, many school students hated the National Front and kindred fascist organisations and, secondly, SKAN itself was based in the schools. These two factors presented a considerable advantage over any organised activity backed by the adult section of the Party because it meant that a few students who were politically aware and enthusiastic about anti-fascist activity could relate immediately to a captive audience within the school (not forgetting the

considerable assistance that could be given by members of TAB - Teachers Against the Nazis - in organising platforms for the young militants, the average population of which was a thousand pupils. Thus in terms of influencing youth both in and amongst the periphery of the Party, SWIN was much more important than the Right to Work Campaign or Rock Against Racism in view of the fact that it had a much larger audience than the Right to Work Campaign and was much better organised 'on the ground' than Rock Against Racism. However, the necessity to inter-link all three activities constantly was imperative when delegates considered that 'the school students of today are the unemployed school leavers of tomorrow and unemployment is one of the principal breeding grounds for the growth of fascism'.

116. With regard to the Socialist Worker Youth Movement (SWYM) [Privacy] advised the delegates that there were several active groups in the London and Liverpool conurbations, all of which were reporting a reasonable measure of success. The main disadvantage was, however, that these groups were, without exception, composed of young people who were already 'full' members of the Socialist Workers Party. This situation had arisen as a result of SWYM being regarded as a 'junior' Socialist Workers Party, many young radicals despising the idea of joining anything which was prefixed with a 'junior' tag, thus leaving only the deeply committed persons within the groups. Although many of the best school student members were active in SWYM, they had been driven there by the patronising attitude displayed towards them by the adult party membership, this problem recently giving rise to a new form of internal snobism within the party - 'against' - which was viewed by the youth membership with the same seriousness as racism and sexism. [Privacy] then suggested that there was not sufficient time to go deeply into the reasons for this type of oppression and stated that, in his opinion, there seemed little logic, from either a political or organisational point of view, in having a separate youth wing, one way of solving the problem being to absorb the youth activists into the main body of the Party and fully utilise their energy, at the same time training them to take on organisational and political responsibility. In this way the youth wing would become part of the main Party structure, where guidance could be given more effectively than in the autonomous youth movement (SWYM) which had not proved successful in the past.

117. The final section of his address consisted of the youth scheme, formulated as a result of consultation with the Central Committee, which he presented in three parts - building the Party in the schools, organising students in the Party and influencing youth generally.

118. With regard to building the Party in the schools, the prime objective was to set up SWIN groups in as many schools as possible, the major part of this work being undertaken by school students and teachers who were Party members and had direct contact with the student population. It was also imperative that a campaign was mounted for

[REDACTED]

student rights - against corporal punishment, school uniforms and petty restrictions, whilst fighting for the right to organise a union and become actively involved in politics in school. One possible method of doing this would be to organise the NWU into a campaigning, anti-racist union that would fight for the rights of students, thus changing completely its current Young Communist League aligned 'non-political' stance. The 'out of school' activities for students could include campaigns for self-controlled youth centres, better facilities for sports fans, no harassment by police and finally, of great importance, the organisation of Rock Against Racism 'rubs'. The employed and unemployed school-leavers could be isolated by this form of activity and, therefore, it would also be necessary to relate to them in different ways through the Rank and File Movement and the Right to Work Campaign respectively.

169. The last of the suggestions for the youth programme concerned the establishment of a means by which young people from all walks of life could be induced to take part in political activity as [REDACTED] Privacy suggested that this could be effected through the Rock Against Racism publication 'Temporary Boarding' which was already read by a large cross section of young people in the student and youth communities.

170. There then followed a short discussion on the points raised by [REDACTED] Privacy which rapidly degenerated into an argument between members of the Central Committee and members of the National Executive of the Socialist Worker Youth Movement on the effectiveness of PWYM and whether it should be abandoned in favour of a greater orientation around SKAB. Eventually, Simon Thomas found it necessary to break up the discussion, which had become a personal 'slanging match' between the two factions involved, and move on to the election of a drafting commission. The drafting commissions were then elected and they produced the following resolutions:

| <u>Youth</u> | <u>(Resolution)</u> |
|---|---------------------|
| Conference notes that the spirit of rebellion is alive amongst working class youth at present, both inside and outside of school. Young Socialist Workers Party members must develop that spirit by building SKAB, RAR, AYL, HUSA, etc, etc. But amongst this youth there also exists the interest in, and commitment about revolutionary ideas that go beyond just fighting the Nazis. They are interested in revolution and they are interested in socialism. The success of the 1976, 1977 and 1978 Right to Work marches in attracting significant numbers of working class youth into political activity, the enormous number of youth at the AYL Carnival, the success of SKAB inside and outside schools all point to the existence of a significant minority of working class youth and school students who identify with and are attracted to the SWP. | |

Conference also notes that we have tried and failed to build the Socialist Worker Youth Movement (SWYM). With virtually no branches and no real paper,

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SWP does not exist as a political organisation. The Socialist Workers Party, as presently constituted, will not successfully hold the school students and youth recruited into the Socialist Workers Party. The opportunity of building a Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation exists at present and we are in danger of letting this slip away.

The Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation would aim to concentrate its efforts on building in the schools, amongst the employed and unemployed youth to recruit to the Youth Organisation or directly into the Socialist Workers Party. The Youth Organisation would have its own structure and organisation, but would be the youth wing of the Socialist Workers Party, not an autonomous organisation.

Conference therefore resolves to:

1. Hold an SWP Youth Conference in July/August 1970 to launch a new national SWP Youth Organisation, with a new national Youth Committee, and producing youth membership cards and developing a new, separate subscription system;
 2. To develop and build SWAP now as an essential prerequisite for the building of the Youth Organisation. With the Anti-Poal League build up to the General Election and the two Anti-Poal League Carnivals a major potential for building SWAP exists. In many areas, the building of SWAP will be the key to the creation of the Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation;
 3. Appoint at least three youth organisers, possibly by paying expenses to unemployed;
 4. Aim to launch a new national monthly Socialist Workers Party youth magazine with the intention of moving to a weekly paper at the earliest opportunity. The failure of 'Fight' and the success of 'Temporary Housing' need to be utilised to produce an exciting, visual format in the new youth magazine. Local youth bulletins and fanzines are to be encouraged.
 5. Where feasible the building of Socialist Workers Party youth branches as in Finchley, Fazakerley, Birkenhead, Preston, Leeds and Newcastle etc.
 6. Campaign within the Socialist Workers Party for the establishment of the Youth Organisation in the Districts and Branches. To organise regional party councils and regional youth conferences to push this through.
- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This first resolution was proposed by [REDACTED] Privacy.

Privacy

Privacy

[REDACTED] was when presented to Conference the following day was the subject of discussion on three points. These were resolved by an amendment presented by [REDACTED] as follows:-

Privacy

Delete in point 'b' the word 'monthly' and from 'with the intention opportunity'

Delete in point 'c' 'to organise..... this through'.

It was this final resolution which was carried by a substantial majority the following morning, whilst the other resolution proposed by [REDACTED]

Privacy

[REDACTED] and Andy Shorrocks was defeated. That resolution read as follows:-

Youth

(Resolution - Defeated)

Conference recognises the difficulties experienced with building a youth movement during the last year, the fact that a full-timer and national paper failed to create an effective national organisation.

At one stage the paper collapsed and the full-timer, realising the situation not being suitable for building a mass youth organisation, resigned leaving voluntary helpers to keep the organisation going.

SWAP has dramatically increased our opportunities and contact with Youth, however there is still far more work to be done even with SWAP.

To attempt to build a youth organisation immediately could create enormous difficulties, including diversion from building SWAP. This would be disastrous just at the time when SWAP is really beginning to get off the ground.

Many school students have joined the Socialist Workers Party because of their involvement with SWAP. The possibility of recruiting more youth to the Socialist Workers Party is a reality.

The recruitment and intervention must not be accidental and the modest guide lines for the Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation must be laid now.

However, this work must not be done from the top without involving the youth.

We believe that the foundations can be best laid by having an SWP Youth Committee that meets at least every two months, creating a loose network and exchange of experience.

If this Youth Committee then decides that the launching of a youth organisation is really on, they should organise a national Socialist Workers Party youth conference. This conference should then discuss

[REDACTED]

when and what form the youth organisation should take.

121. The debate on Youth and School Students having been completed, Simon TURNER left the platform and Lindsey CHARGETTE took his place as chairperson. She immediately introduced **Privacy** to open the discussion on the final topic of the day - Black Work and Fighting Racism.

122. Black Work and Fighting Racism

Before commencing his talk, **Privacy** explained to the audience that he would deal with black, the organisation orientated specifically towards the Afro-Carib community in this country, and later during the session **Privacy** would deliver a short speech on the attitudes and needs of the Asian community.

123. Having established this clear division of responsibility / and attitude, **Privacy** then launched into a carefully prepared speech on the current state of the Flame organisation and perspectives for black work during the coming months. First of all he suggested that Chargettes should refer to their personal conference folders and digest the figures regarding Flame membership and sales of the publication 'Flame' during the past six months (see Appendix 11 - page 261); then they would realise the tremendous amount of concentrated activity that was necessary to politicise the members of the black community.

124. The main reason for the difficulty in recruiting amongst the coloured population was the development amongst blacks of a 'siege mentality' in the view that all whites were oppressors and could not be trusted - an understandable reaction to the wave of race hysteria during the last five years and a contributory factor to the rise of the Rastafarian cult. From this it could be seen that there was a need for a fighting, uncompromising, political programme amongst the members of the Afro-Carib community - only Flame, as a black orientated socialist organisation, was capable of leading this programme.

125. **Privacy** then dealt with the development of Flame since his election to Flame Organiser and stated that the organisation had grown from a tiny black cadre of five members over eighteen months previously to a regular cadre of twenty committed black radicals with a peripheral membership of seventy card-carrying members, whilst the paid sale of the publication 'Flame' had been lifted to two hundred copies on a regular basis.

126. **Privacy** then stated that the only mechanism for ensuring the continued success of black revolutionary politics was an autonomous Flame organisation which alone

was capable of relating directly to the needs of black militancy and giving its members a sense of true membership, instead of the discomfort of being a minority group in a white dominated party. On this point, it was imperative for delegates to realize that the main motive force behind black politics at the present time was the desire to fight racial oppression, this only being possible if members of the same ethnic origins united in the fight against their oppression.

177. The key problem, therefore, was to build a structure capable of holding together Flame and instill into the membership a spirit and sense of true responsibility that they alone were the machinery for running the organisation, in particular with regard to Finance, in the same way that the white party members were responsible to the Socialist Workers Party.

Privacy [redacted] then outlined a six month perspective which would achieve these aims:-

a. Flame must immediately launch a fighting fund and £50 per month sales drive with the aim of repaying the print shop debts. Membership cards would be available at a cost of 50 pence per member every month (£5 for unemployed).

Privacy

would assume the post of National Flame Treasurer with a responsibility for raising the paid sale of 'Flame' and guiding the Fund-raising drive.

b. 'Flame' must be published on a regular monthly basis as an absolute precondition of building the Flame organisation. The tenth day of every month was the deadline for copy material and contributions.

c. A target date of January 1973 had been fixed for the launching of a twelve page issue of 'Flame' which would have been developed by that time to include a stronger news section, an industrial section and a theoretical section. In this way it would be possible to challenge the present domination of 'Cross Party' which had a print order of five thousand.

d. Organisational drive must be concentrated on eight main issues, as follows:-

1. Flame groups must meet fortnightly on a fixed day.

2. Flame groups must hold one public meeting every month and spend the time between such meetings visiting contacts.

3. Flame groups must sell the paper outside predominantly black workplaces and publish at least one related bulletin every month.

4. Flame will organise a series of meetings in colleges with the National Organisation of International Student Societies.

5. A series of duplicated educational notes will be produced to act as a focus for Flame branch meetings.

6. Plano groups must, during the following six months, focus activity around the development of a new 'BSS' campaign, in particular by calling badges, holding public meetings and organising street petitions.

7. Plano must intervene in the Anti-Nazi League and, especially, CLAN groups which have attracted a number of black school students.

8. A series of meetings will be held in the near future to organise Plano members, Plano allies organisations and industrially-based Plano members.

In connection with these perspectives [Privacy] then itemised the policies which had been included on the cover of the Plano membership cards as a guide to the ideals and policies of the organisation. These were as follows:-

Plano Stands:-

Against capitalism and imperialism.
Against all forms of racism.
Against discrimination at work.
Against discrimination at school and college.
Against discrimination in housing.
For the native self defence against police brutality and the National Front.
For fascism and workers power.
Plano is the external organisation of the Socialist Workers Party.

He then itemised the fighting programme on the basis of which members joined the Plano organisation:-

Against immigration controls.
For native self defence against the Nazis.
For Black self Defence.
For a fight against racialist education.
For a fight against discrimination in jobs and housing.
Plano members recognise that their struggle is linked to the struggle of the working class.

1974 Having thus dealt comprehensively with the internal structure and programme of Plano, [Privacy] then moved on to deal finally with the group's relationship to its parent body, the Socialist Workers Party. He stressed that Plano was, at the time, a small body of isolated revolutionaries who were spread over a considerable area throughout the country. This resulted in a lack of confidence that it became necessary for them to move closer into the black communities and build Plano groups around them. In addition to this, many black members were already members of the Socialist Workers Party and, as such, were 'mollycoddled' and had no wish to be thrown into a situation where they would not hold a position of

Individuality, as was the case at an all-white party branch meeting. Thus, the Socialist Workers Party had a crucial role to play in encouraging its black caucus to move into the "cold, outside world" and begin the very difficult task of building *Films*.

132. In addition to this, the white party members would have to continue to sell *Films* (in fact they had been responsible in the past for approximately 60% of the paid sales) and attempt to integrate "black work" into the normal branch activities. By undertaking these tasks, the Socialist Workers Party would be seen to be leading the fight against racism and, accordingly, the building of *Films* would become progressively easier with the resultant possibility of increased recruitment into the Socialist Workers Party. In order to assist in this matter, a delegate based conference would be organized in the autumn for representatives from all areas with a high concentration of black workers, to ensure that a correct mixture of anti-racist and black work was being maintained.

133. Privacy [redacted] to speak
on Anti-racism

Privacy [redacted] to speak

134. Privacy informed the delegates that before deciding what form of recruitment could be used with the Asian community in Britain, it was first necessary to comprehend the customs and resultant division that existed amongst the Asian people, and then spoke briefly on this subject.

135. Privacy explained the background to the Asian presence in Britain. Privacy [redacted] the attitudes of Asian workers to the first major anti-racist struggle which had been experienced during the last 15 years, at Grunwick and Tayside. Privacy [redacted] in respect of industrial Notting and Southall, Bolton and later London with regard to racist violence. In most of these struggles, whether industrial or anti-racist, it had always been the poorer sections of the Asian community which had led the struggle and this which it had been possible to recruit persons into the Socialist Workers Party.

136. However, most of these young Asian recruits had tended to leave the Party after only a short time and it was the reason for this departure which required examination. If the situation was examined, it could be seen that every time an Asian related struggle took place, various left-wing revolutionaries and communist groups, security relations officials, local politicians and party "leaders" descended upon the local Asian community. Whilst each individual left-wing group had a particular, i.e. one particular kind of philosophy, the "leaders" were relatively engaged in trying to disseminate the Anti-racist revolutionary ideal and rewarding them with offers of large amounts of money, youth centres and other similar "materialistic rewards". Inevitably, the attraction of tangible compensation such as this was a far better prospect

to Asian youth who had been raised on typical petit-bourgeois attitudes, then "having revolutionary ideas and"

135. Another important barrier which it was necessary for delegates to understand was the fact that the ideology of the Socialist Workers Party was contrary to a great many of the Indian traditions, of the caste system, the woman's place in society and arranged marriages. It was far simpler for the Indian population to join one of the well-established A. S. I. based groups already in existence, such as the All India Workers Association, the United Peasant Association, the Bengalpechchi Workers Association or one of the many Indian youth organisations, students' clubs or self-help associations.

13. The one area in which it was possible to establish a foothold in the future was among unemployed Asian youth. In the coming months many young Asians would become disillusioned because of the oppression from conditions which had already affected their Afro-Caribbean counterparts and those Asian workers and students at schools, colleges and universities would look for a socialist alternative to the existing capitalist system. This could be given by the Socialist Workers Party and, although the party was not in a position at the present time to create a separate Asian youth section, it was imperative that Asian party members gathered around them an Asian youth constituency or, alternatively, took part in youth organizations and related to Asian youth, both socially and politically.

136. In the past, Indians had gravitated towards the Socialist Workers Party because of its stance against the Nationalist Front and favored racist organizations. It was therefore necessary to restore this form of activity and set up Anti-Nazi League groups in all Asian districts, tell "Socialist Worker" on a regular basis in Asian districts and support Asian struggles by offering every assistance possible. Only in this way would the Asian community gain the confidence needed to enter into a political alliance with a white dominated revolutionary party.

136. **Indoor Group** when discussing their valuable contributions of a new report and allowed one or two short contributions from the year before closing the debate and leaving the following conclusions for the two main topics under discussion - Africa and Asian

The domain name is a registered service mark subject of
Privacy

Time

(Resolution)

1. Conference recognises the economic climate we are living in is disastrous for the working class;

2. On the other hand there is clearly a rising consciousness and activity in the black community. Blacks are clearly beginning to fight back against all forms of racism under pressure of news after news of race hysteria and unemployment, falling wages;

/the

3. Conference believes that/Piase communication must be built to organize and draw towards revolutionary realities elements of this black radicalised milieu. The Socialist Workers Party must be totally committed to the building of the Piase organisation;

4. It is essential for gaining the confidence of these black militants that Piase is an independent organization. This means that all decisions of Piase committee, branches etc. cannot be simply overruled by Socialist Workers Party committees (including the Central Committee) but must be carried out by black members of the Socialist Workers Party within Piase. (All black members of the Socialist Workers Party are responsible to the Party).

5. Piase is essential in the Socialist Workers Party intervention inside the black community. Recent experience shows Piase can attract and involve black members of the Socialist Workers Party and is a fundamental mechanism for the organisation of a black periphery around the Socialist Workers Party;

6. All Socialist Workers Party districts/Branches where there are black people must immediately set to organising Piase cells, getting Piase branches off the ground;

7. The fight against racism in all its forms ~~must~~ not be reduced to simply building the Anti-Nazi League!

8. Build Piase! Seize the Time!

The following amendment to the above resolution was proposed by **Privacy** prior to the vote the next morning and was defeated. No-one in the Assembly was willing to second the motion:-

Time

(Amendment - Defeated)

If Piase is to be independent it must start off with a set of basic revolutionary socialist principles which must be approved by the Central Committee in liaison with **Privacy**. These principles must be written into the constitution of Piase.

136. The drafting committee charged with the subject of this work consisted of **Privacy** and they produced the following resolution:-

Asian Work

(Resolution)

1. The organization has to understand that Asian work is very different from West Indian (Piano) work. A clear distinction has to be made and separate sessions should be allowed at the next conference;

2. Asian work should be taken seriously and every branch in an area with an Asian population should appoint an Asian work organizer.

'Socialist Worker' should be sold in the Asian community and leaflets, book and file bulletins, etc., should be produced in Asian languages.

3. An bi-monthly paper in English language aimed at the Asian youth should be produced very soon and financed by the Party;

4. We should involve Asians in anti-Nazi League and Right to Work Committees;

5. There should be an Asian National Committee of the most active committee which should meet every three months;

There should be local committees in London and Greater Manchester which should meet once a month.

These committees should advise and assist the Asian Organiser and the Central Committee.

149. The votes on the resolutions concerning Piano and Asian work the following morning resulted in both being carried "unanimously".

150. The business for the second day of the conference was thus completed, although some three quarters of an hour later than scheduled, and Lindsey CHAPMAN closed the business at 7.15pm.

11.1.

Monday 19 June 1978

AGENDA

| | |
|---------------|--|
| 9.30 - 10.00 | Drafting Commission Reports |
| 10.00 - 11.15 | Workplace Activity |
| 11.15 - 1.15 | Rank and File Work and Fractions |
| 1.15 - 2.15 | Lunch |
| 2.15 - 3.15 | Right to Work Campaign and Unemployed Work |
| 3.15 - 4.15 | Student Work |
| 4.15 - 6.00 | Women |

* * * *

112. The third day of the Conference was opened promptly at 9.30am by Duncan HALLIDAY who immediately dealt with the voting procedure on the drafting commission resolutions which had been prepared the previous evening and circulated to delegates prior to the commencement of the morning session. The number of delegates in attendance was considerably lower than the previous two days for a variety of reasons - many of those with 'observer' s tags were obliged to work, several provincial delegates chose this particular time to do their shopping as the debates were only of limited interest to non-industrially based members and several of the full-time party workers (print shop and editorial staff of 'Socialist Worker') had to return to their duties. In the event, when HALLIDAY considered that he had the maximum number of delegates in attendance, he introduced PHIL WILKINSON, the full-time organizer for East London, to brief the delegates on Workplace Activity.

113. Workplace Activity

"Workplace" commenced his briefing by informing the delegates that during the last few years the Socialist Workers Party had been able to offer one political option that no other group could provide. The insistence that it was the rank and file in the workplaces who were the people that counted and were willing to fight as potential revolutionaries, meant that the party had intervened in many disputes and supported workers with whatever resources it had at its disposal. Thus, it was not the members of the Socialist Workers Party alone who were most active on the picket line and collecting strike funds, but the workers themselves who were able to use experience gathered by party members on previous occasions to win strikes, effectively 'black' workplaces, run flying pickets and connect militants in various sections of industry to ensure solidarity of action.

144. He hoped that the delegates realised that it was this type of industrial intervention which had created a reputation amongst the rank and file workers throughout the country that the Socialist Workers Party was the only left-wing group willing to back political theory with action in the workplace. There was no doubt that a great deal of the success had resulted from localised activity, but the major contribution had been made by a group of party members who had purposely set out to collate experiences and 'advertise' them in 'Socialist Worker', the rank and file paper, at branch and district meetings and on a daily basis by telephone and letter - these members had been the basis of the Industrial Department which, together with 'Socialist Worker', formed the most important section of the organization.

145. However, the recent change in party perspectives to concentrate on anti-racist work had resulted in a steady decline in the effectiveness of the Industrial Department. Whilst it was appreciated that the level of industrial struggle had experienced a considerable 'downturn' during the past year, there was no valid reason for the Socialist Workers Party, in particular the Industrial Department, to abdicate from its customary role of educating members of the working class movement who were engaged in militant industrial struggles. MARFLYST then quoted numerous situations where, in his opinion, support had not been given to rank and file workers either by party members or the Industrial Department of the Party and reasons for the failure in each case.

146. Therefore, it was necessary for the Industrial Department to be strengthened immediately and commence a programme of education amongst the party members by way of discussion documents (a new Industrial Bulletin), industrial day schools and increased coverage of industrial issues in 'Socialist Worker'.

147. This relatively short speech (by Conference standards) was intended as a basis for discussion on workplace activity and for the remainder of the time available the points raised by MARFLYST were debated by the relatively small caucus of industrially based delegates who were present. Two drafting commissions were then elected at the close of the session and the resultant resolutions adequately cover the points at issue.

148. The first resolution, prepared by a drafting commission consisting of [redacted] Privacy [redacted] read as follows:-

Building in the Workplace (Resolution)

Industrial work is not just an important aspect of our work. It is central. Our power rests on the strength we have at the point of production. No matter how difficult industrial work is, it can never be sacrificed by a party that is claiming to be revolutionary.

In the last ten years there have been a number of developments which must be taken into account; the growth of productivity deals, the number of full-time stewards, the collaboration of the trade union leaders with the Government, workers' participation, the acceptance of unemployment as a norm and the 'national interest' argument have all served to shift 'decisions' away from the shop-floor and weakened the power of rank and file workers, shop stewards and factory organisation.

Inevitably these developments have effected our growth and partly explain our failure to sustain the factory and industrial branches which were developed over a long period in the early 70's.

There were also subjective reasons for the decline: a large number of mistakes were made, many branches were premature and there was insufficient backup. We must learn from these mistakes. But we must systematically re-emphasise and encourage the development of the workplace base.

The largest percentage of 'Socialist Worker' sales are to the periphery in the workplace (3 times our present membership). Their recruitment would lead to a significant increase in our influence. This means that every unit of the organisation - 'Socialist Worker', Central Organisation, fractions, districts, branches and bulletins - are addressed to them.

'Socialist Worker' - The decisions already taken by Conference to sharpen the bite on general political issues and develop the industrial coverage are an important step towards this.

Bulletins - Although these have increased in quantity we must qualitatively strengthen the content of the bulletins and monitor where and why they are being done. (Many of these points are covered in the new pamphlet 'A guide to workplace bulletins'). Where possible, bulletins should have one side on problems in the workplace and the other on wider political issues, e.g. Lewisham, Select Committee, Nero, Argentina etc.

Drawing in the Periphery - We do not expect the immediate growth of factory branches. However, methods of drawing in the periphery through discussion groups, writing for bulletins, organising public meetings, supporting the Anti-Nazi League etc., should be considered to that end.

Assistance from the Organisation - To implement these decisions will require a prolonged, insistent political drive to encourage this work which the entire organisation must support.

Districts - Every district should discuss its own strength in local workplaces. In some cases industrial committees may assist. But everywhere branches and districts should discuss the priorities, set targets and work out how they can be achieved. There are tremendous pressures on comrades in workplaces to dilute their activity and politics. Unless they are assisted by other comrades, by helping with 'Socialist Worker' sales and bulletin distribution and production, isolation will increase.

Regional and National - In consultation with the districts, the National Organisation should set up and continue regional schools covering:-

- a) building in the workplace; how to be a shop steward, working in the unions, etc.
- b) building the party; 'Socialist Worker' sales, bulletins, discussion groups, etc.

Leading comrades with industrial experience in the organisation should also be encouraged to impart their experience in districts other than their own.

While recognising the need for technical assistance, however, our main aim must be a systematic campaign of argument and discussion - which will take time - to convince, not bludgeon, the organisation into building the workplace base.

143. The second resolution on Workplace Activity, prepared by a drafting commission consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy Eddie MULDOON and Phil MARFLYNN, was as follows:

Building in the Workplace (Resolution)

In this difficult period, it is especially important to develop the confidence and ability of our comrades and contacts to work successfully in the workplace and generally at a rank and file level.

Giving our members confidence to take initiatives, however modest these may be, means spreading the experience of the party in industry. This is not merely a technical question - sharing the best experiences of our class is at the centre of our politics.

The main responsibility for doing this falls on our fractions, on 'Socialist Worker' and on the Industrial Department. The great responsibility for monitoring workplace and fraction progress falls on the Industrial Department. It is not a question merely of offices and duplicators - the Anti-Nazi League has solved these

problems without difficulty. The Industrial Department must do the same if it is to play its important political role.

Conference welcomes the recent national workplace school and the coming pamphlet on workplace activity. We must continue this style of operation over the coming months.

Conference therefore agrees:-

- 1) To establish an Industrial Department of Central Committee and other members, if necessary on a part-time basis, to help organise our work in workplaces and fractions, our interventions in local and national disputes, and in specific campaigns.
- 2) That the Industrial Department should circulate through a Socialist Workers Party Bulletin or through an Industrial Bulletin, the best of our members' experiences, our bulletins and rank and file publications and detailed accounts of our successes and failures.
- 3) That the Industrial Department should organise both national and regional schools on workplace and fraction activities.
- 4) The Industrial Department to take our experiences into the districts with a campaigning spirit - visiting workplace and branch units and industrial branches.
- 5) Industrial Department members to meet regularly with 'Socialist Worker' staff to provide the materials for a serious industrial coverage, to cover our workplace experiences in detail and to make 'Socialist Worker' the method of communicating our industrial strategy.

These measures will not substitute the activity of the membership in our own workplaces. They will make it possible to raise the comrades' confidence and for us to educate each other.

However, without the basic organisation and information the Industrial Department can provide, our tasks are much far more difficult.

150. Prior to the vote on the actual resolutions, a motion that 'These resolutions shall be dealt with on an individual basis, in view of their differences in content', was placed before Conference. This proposal was eventually carried, but only after a lengthy discussion concerning the democracy of the proposal, and the two resolutions were then carried by large majorities.

151. The second topic for debate during the morning session was 'Rank and File Work and Fractions' and Duncan DALLAS introduced [redacted] Privacy [redacted] a member of the Central Committee and the Industrial Department, to give a brief outline of the intended party programme in respect of these matters.

152. Rank and File Work and Fractions

The content of [redacted] Privacy speech and discussion which ensued was centred on the various methods of building the rank and file movement within the workplaces and improving the organisation and membership of the many fractions within the industrial spectrum. The majority of persons making contributions were either members of the Industrial Department within the central party structure or regional industrial representatives and there can be little doubt that the basic framework of a resolution on this topic had been prepared well before the conference actually commenced.

153. The resolution on this subject which was prepared by a drafting committee consisting of [redacted] Privacy [redacted] Gareth JENKINS and [redacted] Privacy [redacted] read as follows:-

Rank and File Movement and Fractions (Resolution)

- 1) The Trades Union Congress/Government co-operation has led to retreat in wide areas of the movement. One obvious result is the AUEW election. This means that the necessity for building a rank and file movement is greater, not less. There are already signs that a groundswell is beginning again, particularly in the public sector where the Government's ability to intervene to enforce its policy on pay and units is far more successful than in the private sector.
- 2) The demoralisation has taken its toll in Socialist Workers Party members, who are less willing to rebuild in the workplace than they should be. There is also a problem with new members, recruited via general politics, who have little confidence of workplace organisation. Yet if the Socialist Workers Party is to make the impact it has to in the workplace in order to build the necessary revolutionary organisation, then members need also to start working now to help create those structures and organisations which can eventually take on the employers and the state.
- 3) At the moment on the big issues of pay there is not much movement. The Government's ideological offensive has been to test. But the situation in other areas of local, sectional and women's issues for example - is such that it is possible

to generate enough confidence amongst workers to take these smaller scale issues and win. But only if we have the necessary organisation. The Broad left method - building individual stars, ignoring or discouraging rank and file initiative - conspicuously failed.

Our problem is that we need to convince Socialist Workers Party members that it is possible to build rank and file organisation in their workplaces. We need to recruit Socialist Workers Party members into Rank and File - not let them be colonised by districts or take up away from the workplace what look like more 'glamorous' issues - Anti Nazi League work for instance. Only if we win this type of political issue in the workplace itself can we be confident about the capacity of our organisation to lead. Omitting whatever results we have will be disastrous. We will not have taken the

- 4) Consequently we need a much improved fraction organisation. The necessity is to centralise our particular experience of fighting in the workplace and communicate that experience. We also need to train our members in the crucial issues that confront them in the workplace - such as Health and Safety (or Maternity Leave conditions) and encourage members to use their experience in assisting other members in their districts. Fractions should undertake:-

- a) a regular fractional newsletter/bulletin.
 - b) well-prepared national meetings.
 - c) local fractional organisation.
 - d) joint fractional work on specific issues - e.g. London Weighting.

District/Branch Committees should ensure that when
matters come round advertising, national or
other fraction activities special efforts are
made to get members (particularly black-polluter
members) involved. This means, for example,
that transport, Party-affiliates etc. are
prioritised as a priority by the District/Branch.

- There is quite clearly an imbalance between white collar and manual in this organisation. Our white collar workers are in general better organised than manual. This imbalance must be corrected. Districts have a particular responsibility in this respect. For example they should hold industrial meetings so that the problems of manual industrial workplace organisation can be sorted out and priorities

established. The Industrial Department must continue to put a large proportion of its resources into work with our manual union members.

154. At 1pm, MILLAS closed the morning session and requested that all the delegates returned promptly at 2.15pm as the debates planned for the afternoon were likely to be lengthy and the time available was relatively short.

155. The majority of delegates complied with this request and in addition, many of those who had not attended earlier arrived specifically for the afternoon session. Thus, promptly at the time appointed, Duncan RALPHONS able to open the afternoon session and introduce [redacted] Privacy [redacted] to speak on 'The Right to Work'.

156. Right to Work Campaign and Unemployed

Privacy informed the delegates that the Right to Work Campaign had been clearly established as the only organisation capable of mobilising significant numbers of the unemployed, in particular youth and school leavers. It was therefore necessary to use this achievement to convince the Communist Party (through the Campaign Against Youth Unemployment, where it existed) and Labour Party militants to join the campaign in a united front against unemployment. The Right to Work Campaign was an activist organisation when compared with other groups and it was therefore very necessary to encourage 'Broad Left' groups to increase united front activity and treat the debate on sectarian issues as of secondary importance.

157. With regard to youth, the new Socialist Workers Party Youth Organisation would help to politically organise young unemployed persons and those who had just left school. In addition to this, it would be necessary to commence direct action in respect of 'claimant work' by picketing tribunals, occupying the Department of Health and Social Security 'dole managers' offices, invoking protests amongst dole queues, building a campaign against 'fortnightly signings', picketing against gas and electricity cut-offs and occupying buildings where social services were due to be cut, e.g. nurseries and hospitals. Also, unemployed youth should be used to squat in unoccupied buildings which could then be used as centres for those out of work, the group concerned can apply for local council support once access had been obtained.

158. He then stressed the importance of 'Right to Work' marches which had, in the past, provided a great deal of excellent publicity for the plight of the unemployed. It was imperative, however, that this should not be allowed to lapse in the period between marches and in order to remedy this situation he suggested

[REDACTED]

that the unemployed members should arrange, amongst other activities, 'direct action' every time the unemployment figures were released (usually on the second Tuesday in every month) and that such protests should be organised by local SWP groups.

159. In addition to the 'physical demonstrations' it was necessary for party members to ensure that 'Socialist Worker' was sold regularly outside the dole offices, experience having shown that the best time for this particular activity was during the summer months when people were willing to stand and discuss their problems.

160. HALLAS thanked [REDACTED] Privacy for his contribution and several persons then made short speeches on the various topics involved, but nearly all were concerned with the activities of local groups in connection with the Right to Work Campaign. When the last comment had been made, a Standing Commission was elected, consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy which produced the following resolution:-

The 'Right to Work Campaign' and Unemployed (Resolution)

Forecasts are that the number of people unemployed will take a dramatic leap even compared to present levels and this in a relatively short period of time in terms of world economy. Projected figures are between four and five million by the early 1980's.

The official Trade Union Movement and the Broad Left have abandoned the unemployed. This will become ever more apparent as the coming General Election draws near and as the official movement moves further away from the unemployed, the need for a revolutionary movement to organise, politicise and fight for the leadership of the unemployed is not a luxury for the Socialist Workers Party, but an optional extra, but is totally necessary in the building of the revolutionary party.

The Right to Work Campaign is still probably our best credential inside the labour Movement. Not to use the campaign would be to throw away the benefits of two to three years hard work. There exists substantial sympathy toward any fight against unemployment despite the retreat on other issues. The recent experiences of Merseyside show that consistent work and imagination can lead to considerable gains being made even in a period of downturn in struggle. Without doubt the Right to Work Campaign can be instrumental in building rank and file groups. Therefore, the following steps must be taken:-

- 1) Regular work around Labour Exchanges, e.g. leafletting to advertise the initiatives of the Right to Work Campaign, 'Socialist Worker' selling and regular explanation of the cause of unemployment and the need for a socialist alternative.
- [REDACTED]

- [REDACTED]
- 2) Consistent work around factories etc., threatened by redundancy no matter how small, with a campaign against accepting redundancy payments as an alternative to fighting for jobs.
 - 3) Support for groups of workers who do not accept redundancy even after acceptance by the majority of the particular workforce.
 - 4) Branches and districts should appoint comrades responsible for the Right to Work Campaign.
 - 5) Involvement in claimants issues is important because of the long-term nature of mass unemployment and can help to build the Right to Work Campaign.
 - 6) Apart from local issues the Right to Work Campaign must still be preserved as a national organisation and be seen in the forefront in any fight for the thirty-five hour week.

Arguing for the ten demands of the Right to Work Campaign can fight a major propaganda battle in the working class movement especially at shop floor level. The Right to Work Campaign can keep alive the ideas of resistance to closures and redundancies.

Today's bricks are tomorrow's houses.

161. When the business dealing with the Right to Work Campaign and Unemployment had been completed, Duncan DALLAS left the platform and Lindsay GUNN took his place as chairman, immediately introducing **Privacy**, one of the Student Organisers of the Socialist Workers Party, to speak on 'Student Work'.

162. Student Work

Privacy stated that the opportunities for the Socialist Workers Party as a modern revolutionary organisation were immense when one considered that many graduates would become disillusioned with the machinery of a capitalist state system which had programmed to leave them unemployed at the end of their educational career or forced them to accept employment which was considerably below their expectations in view of the qualifications achieved. In addition to this there was also a large captive audience amongst the ranks of black student youth who were suffering daily from harassment and a severe lack of funds.

163. She stated that the Socialist Workers Student Organisation (Formerly the National Organisation of International Students Socialists) consisted of eight hundred full members of the Socialist Workers Party and an additional membership of approximately two thousand students, advising the delegates to [REDACTED]

consult the duplicated sheets in their personal document folders for an accurate breakdown of the membership figures and the numbers of Socialist Workers Party members at individual colleges (see Appendix 12 - pages 22 - 24). The Socialist Worker Student Organisation was an autonomous body having its own national committee and conference but linked completely to the Socialist Workers Party on a political basis.

164. Three years previously, the Party had taken a decision to set up student branches with the main emphasis on student members working within the colleges themselves, the current statistics proving that this had been a fairly successful venture. However, the Party had found in recent months that in many areas the growth of these branches was being undermined by members who felt that their energies should be directed towards every form of political activity other than student work. There was even a more disturbing trend of students moving back to the nearest geographical branches rather than remaining in poorly supported college branches and, in some colleges, the failure of the Party to take an active stance had allowed the National Front to emerge with the powerful political initiative.

165. It was therefore necessary to re-establish the student perspective by building the Socialist Worker Student Organisation in the colleges and universities, together with individual branches which could then take the responsibility for student work from the various geographical SWP districts and continue to mobilise students for broad-based campaigns such as the Anti-Nazi League which in the past had proved to be a fertile recruiting ground for the Party.

166. **Privacy** then emphasized that one of the most important facets of college work had been allowed to deteriorate over the last year i.e. the sale of 'Socialist Worker'. This had been seen by many student members as a 'chore' which had to be fulfilled if one was to remain a member of the organisation, when in fact it was the most important method of establishing the political ideals of the Party amongst the student population.

167. Regarding specific areas in which the student membership of the Party was particularly weak, she then moved on to the problem of organising women amongst the vast potential that existed in colleges and universities. This it was hoped would be resolved by building Women's Voice groups in the colleges based on two main perspectives. Firstly, the national body of Women's Voice had organised a speaking tour of colleges on the subject of 'The Suffragette Movement' (1978 being the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of women) which could be used as a springboard to create a Women's Voice presence in the colleges. Secondly, the National Union of Students women's committee had launched a charter of demands for women in education. The student membership should therefore take up the argument that the demands of the charter could only be achieved by constant activity - a motion at a union meeting being completely inadequate. This would mean that the Party had to take seriously the arguments concerning the need for a Women's Voice movement,

[REDACTED]

why socialism was necessary if women's liberation was to survive and above all, build support for the revolutionary socialist ideals which support feminist activity.

168. The next facet of student work at which Privacy reported was 'international work' and she believed that this was one area where the Party had achieved significant success, particularly with regard to South Africa and the Middle East.

169. Following the death of Steve Biko earlier in the summer, the student membership of the Party had begun to organise in the colleges and universities on a massive scale with the 'South African Solidarity Campaign Tour' raising the question of armed support for the guerrillas, in many cases for the first time. As a direct result it had been possible to mobilise South African Solidarity Campaign groups in the colleges involving South African and Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) black students, although the expected militancy on a national scale did not emerge.

170. With regard to the Middle East situation, it had been possible to establish many Palestinian Solidarity Campaign groups in the colleges and improve contacts with the Palestinian student population as a result of campaigns convincing students and student unions not to collect or send money for the benefit of the State of Israel. Within the Socialist Worker Student Organisation, there were also a number of Jewish students working on a 'Jews Against Zionism' campaign, which concentrated on propaganda work and close liaison with the Palestinian Solidarity Campaign. Although not a large part of the organisation, it was doing valuable work in countering the widely held belief that 'anti-zionism = anti-semitism' and that all Jews were Zionists.

171. The final facet of student work which she covered was the Anti-Nazi League activity within colleges and universities throughout the country. The National Union of Students had overwhelmingly supported the League and as a result, a successful 'Student Campaign Against the Nazis' had been formulated. Student members should take every opportunity to prove that they were the most active and militant supporters of 'SKAN', (School Kids against the Nazis) taking up the arguments on immigration controls and the necessity to confront the fascists physically with those students who were becoming politically involved for the first time.

172. In view of the limited time available (only one hour was given to cover the entire subject), the discussion was extremely short with the delegates agreeing with the perspective put forward by Privacy and merely adding their personal observations and experiences on the ideas raised. The debate was halted by Lindsey GASKIN just before the time scheduled for the end of the session, in order that a drafting committee could be elected.

173. The drafting committee concerned, consisting of Privacy [REDACTED] and Andy DUNNELL, produced the following resolution which was adopted by a unanimous decision the next day:-

[REDACTED]

Privacy

1. The central orientation of the Socialist Workers Party is for members to relate, organise and build the party within their workplaces. For student members of the Socialist Workers Party, this means that their first priority is to organise in branches in their colleges. From this follows that 'Student work' per se is not a soft option for the organisation but an essential part of the Party's work. Conference believes that in colleges where we have two or three members the districts should give a lead to encouraging these comrades to build a college branch. The change in social composition of students over the past fifteen years, coupled with an unprecedented increase in graduate unemployment and education cuts, means that more and more students are being faced with the grim reality of capitalism's economic crisis. There are, therefore, real and significant gains to be made for the Socialist Workers Party in winning students to revolutionary politics through the Socialist Worker Student Organisation.
- 2) It follows from (1), therefore, that the main area of work for Socialist Workers Party students is the building of an organised periphery in the colleges, i.e. the Socialist Worker Student Organisation. The Socialist Worker Student Organisation bases itself on the politics of the Socialist Workers Party and fights around such issues as Tuition Fees, Grants, Education cuts and the struggle for a fighting campaigning National Union of Students. It is absolutely vital to the continuance of our presence within the colleges (given the fact that anything from a quarter to a third of the students leave college each year) that the Socialist Worker Student Organisation must be built in all colleges where we have a presence. If we have any illusions whatsoever that we can build a mass student movement which can lead campaigns locally and nationally then the building of the Socialist Worker Student Organisation is a vital prerequisite. If we don't build it, then we will die and wither away from natural wastage. The Socialist Worker Student Organisation has to run to stand still in terms of its membership.
- 3) The Socialist Worker Student Organisation must intervene locally and nationally within the National Union of Students, arguing for General Meeting sovereignty, active democracy and direct action to win student demands. They must continuously be seen by rank and file students as being the organisation which acts, whether it is over Nazis in the colleges or the price of refectory meals.
- 4) Outside the Socialist Worker Student Organisation, the members of the Socialist Workers Party must see

the building of the Student Campaign Against the Nazis and Women's Voice groups as being their top priorities.

- 5) Outside, college Socialist Workers Party members are expected to do at least one paper sale and to help distribute and bancher in local disputes (i.e. collecting money for the firemen, winning support for the picket lines, etc.).

CONFERENCE therefore believes:-

1. That students should organise primarily in Student Branches.
2. That District Committees and Branches should give all support possible to student members of the Socialist Workers Party in setting up student branches and Socialist Worker Student Organisation Societies.
3. That student branches should build the Socialist Worker Student Organisation, Women's Voice and the 'Student' Campaign Against the Nazis'.

174. The final session of the day was devoted to 'Women' and Lindsey GILLARD introduced Margaret MANN, the National Women's Voice Organiser, to speak on this topic, which proved to be one of the most emotive issues at Conference in view of the strong desire by many Women's Voice members for autonomy from the main structure of the Socialist Workers Party.

175. Women

MANN opened her speech by suggesting that delegates consult their personal document folder where could be found statistics concerning the number of women in the Socialist Workers Party, an analysis of women members in trade unions, membership figures for Women's Voice groups (where available) and sales/production figures for 'Women's Voice', the women's magazine produced by the Party (see Appendices I, II and III - pages 9, 25 and 26 respectively). Whilst they were thus occupied, she explained that the magazine 'Women's Voice' had been responsible for building the popularity of the Party amongst women during the past year, developing the political ideas and confidence of women party members and recruiting many women to the Socialist Workers Party itself. Thus, the next logical step was to organise these women into an effective, working body - women's Voice - a completely new strategy for the Party and, indeed, for any revolutionary organisation in the country.

176. She continued by outlining the particular oppression of women through the family structure in a capitalist society, which meant that the manner in which they organised politically

was completely different from that of men. Women would fight over issues such as equal pay, abortion and sex discrimination because they were items of direct and specific importance, tradition decreeing that women were not at all interested in trade unions or politics. The tradition of organising women had been associated for many years with middle class women and reformist politics, degenerating considerably over the past fifty years; the only shred of women's politics existing at the present time being women's organisation at its worst - the women's Trades Union Congress and the women's conference of the Labour Party.

177. She criticized the attempts made by the Labour Party and Communist Party to organise working class women and said that the women members of the Socialist Workers Party had, on the other hand, appreciated the need for a specific form of organisation for introducing women to politics and driving them forward to work effectively within the party and on issues directly concerning them. The solution had been found in the publication of 'Women's Voice', a magazine which was not a 'party-line' paper (it included non-party women at its editorial meetings), but dealt on a broader base with issues specifically orientated towards women's struggle in the widest sense. By the same token, the Women's Voice Organisation had been built by women within the Socialist Workers Party to cater particularly for working class women who were not party members and did not wish to join the Socialist Workers Party, but nevertheless felt politically motivated to discuss matters or take part in activities centred around 'women's issues'. As a result of the success of these two ventures, it was considered that Women's Voice should be built as an autonomous unit outside the main party structure, whilst still retaining the Socialist Workers Party as its political base.

178. HME stated that no plans had been made for the development of Women's Voice, a national rally being held later in the month at Sheffield sufficing to set the programme in motion. Following this, there would be regular national delegate meetings to mobilise local groups throughout the country and assist them in recruiting women who wished to work around a basic programme for women's rights and liberation. It was important, though, that those recruits were left in no doubt that the aims for which they were fighting could only be achieved through a socialist society and in this respect it was imperative that all women within the Socialist Workers Party joined Women's Voice (a point which created considerable dissent amongst many women members who could see no relevance in acceding to this course of action and, in any case, did not believe that Women's Voice should become an autonomous organisation).

179. The problem was not solely related to dealing with women who were not members of the Party, however, and she confirmed that it was still vital to develop the internal women's organisation by increasing the activities of the national women's committee, arranging women's conferences to debate political perspectives and building a full educational programme to equip women with the political knowledge and confidence to enable them to lead arguments and debates in every political arena, not just those related to women.

180. Lindsey GREEN then thanked Margaret HORN for her valuable contribution and the debate was opened for contributions from the delegates. While the opinions were many and varied, both for and against an autonomous 'Women's Voice' organization, the majority of points in favour of the suggestion have already been well covered in MARGARET's speech and the main argument against consisted of the resulting division between men and women's work which was (1) sexist and (2) counter productive in producing recruits.

181. Another argument against autonomy for 'Women's Voice' was the danger that if male members of the Party were prevented from becoming involved in women's issues, then the reverse would apply and the Women's Voice organisation would become a modern version of the Women's Liberation Movement, being solely orientated around women's struggle instead of being politically linked to the Socialist Workers Party as a 'complete' revolutionary socialist body.

182. The general feeling amongst the delegates opposing the idea of autonomy was that women already involved in the Women's Voice organisation would prefer to return to the fold of general Socialist Workers Party politics once they realised that they were becoming far too deeply polarised around feminist issues instead of general socialist politics.

183. Eventually, it was necessary for Lindsey GREEN, the chairperson, to intervene and call the delegates to order, so that a drafting commission could be elected to draw up a resolution on the subject. It was at this stage that the futility of arguing in a democratic manner became evident to those opposing autonomy for Women's Voice, because there were only sufficient volunteers to form one drafting commission and all concerned were in favour of the move which had the backing of the Central Committee. Thus a drafting commission, consisting of [redacted] Privacy [redacted] Margaret HORN, formulated the following resolution, which was passed by a substantial majority the next day:-

Women (Resolution)

Women's Voice exists to fight for women's liberation and socialism. Women's liberation is only possible with socialism but women must themselves fight for their own liberation. The experience of our own political analysis shows that Women's Voice can draw into political activity women who would not otherwise be involved in fighting for socialism.

As from this conference, the Women's Voice organisation is formed.

'Women's Voice' is the magazine of the Women's Voice organisation which is the sister organization of the

[REDACTED]

Socialist Workers Party, with its own membership, groups, national structure, capable of making its own decisions at local/national level.

The first delegate meeting of Women's Voice groups will take place in the autumn.

The Socialist Workers Party must accept that the political priority of the women members is to organise other women. Socialist Workers Party women should be involved in the building of Women's Voice and see that as the activity that takes political priority. The building of Women's Voice must be seen as one of our major spheres of work and therefore our leading women comrades should be responsible for it in the districts and branches.

Wherever women work we can use 'Women's Voice' not just by selling it but building around the sales; small Women's Voice work place groups based on discussion and activity, around the specific issues which affect women, e.g. nurseries, maternity leave, equal pay, abortion, etc.

Local Women's Voice groups should work around new workplaces and produce regular factory bulletins in order to attract manual working women. We can't expect overnight results. It will need as much attention to detail as any similar Socialist Workers Party activity.

Immediate campaigns that every Women's Voice group can involve themselves in include hospital closures and Women Against the Nazis. All our experience shows that small meetings, on housing estates, or with a group of interested women are more valuable than large public meetings as a way of building Women's Voice groups.

The Socialist Workers Party Women's Committee will have to take a more active part in developing our fraction and rank and file work and this should lead increasingly to our women taking a lead in developing the policies of the party.

For future conferences, special arrangements must be offered to delegates with children.

181. Following the closure of the debate on 'Women', Lindsey GRIFFIN thanked the delegates for their attention and formally closed the business at 6pm.

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[REDACTED]

106.

Wednesday 20 June 1978

AGENDA

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 9.30 - 10.00 | Drafting Committee Reports |
| 10.00 - 12.00 | General Election Strategy |
| 12.00 - 1.00 | Finance |
| 1.00 - 2.00 | Lunch |
| 2.00 - 4.00 | Ireland and Irish Work, International Work |
| 4.00 - 5.30 | Election of Central Committee, Control Commission and National Advisory Committee |
| 5.30 - 6.00 | Drafting Committee Reports. |

* * * * *

106. The fourth day of the Conference was opened at 9.30am by the chairperson, Simon TURNER, who spent the first half-hour session dealing with the voting procedure on resolutions which had been prepared by drafting committees the previous evening. Once this section of the business was completed, he moved on to the major item of the day - the General Election Strategy - and introduced Duran HALLAH to open the debate.

107. General Election Strategy

This subject was, without doubt, the most contentious single item on the conference agenda, there being three completely different opinions regarding the course of action to be adopted by the Party at the next General Election. This trinity of the leadership was not caused by the fact that the Central Committee, considered by many members to be the 'elder statesmen' of the Party and the fount of all political knowledge, was also in complete disagreement, there being two distinct factions, one led by Duran HALLAH (one of the founders of the Party) and the other by Steve JEFFRIES (considered to be one of the best political theorists in the younger section of the Party). It was no surprise, therefore, that HALLAH had only been speaking for half an hour when he was interrupted from the floor of the conference by JEFFRIES on 'a point of order'. When asked the basis of his argument by the chairperson, Simon TURNER, he stated

that HALLAS was not presenting an agreed party perspective to the delegates and therefore was only entitled to the statutory five minute speaking period as laid out in the Conference Standing Orders (Article 4). Before THOMAS could pass judgement on this comment, HALLAS asserted that he was only making a preliminary contribution to the basic issues of the debate and requested that he be allowed to finish his speech uninterrupted. In order to prevent the discussion degenerating into a 'free for all', FRASER intervened and stated that he would allow HALLAS a further five minutes in which to explain his personal viewpoint. Thus the morning session continued in a rather stormy manner, with the delegates either arguing amongst themselves or forming specific factions around certain points in the various proposals. In the event, those present aligned themselves either with the proposals put forward by HALLAS or THOMAS, or in some cases with a third 'middle of the road' suggestion presented by [REDACTED] from East London.

Privacy

185. The resolutions prepared by the three drafting commissions that were later adopted were as follows:-

186. The First resolution, prepared by a drafting commission consisting of [REDACTED] Privacy and Steve [REDACTED] was:-

Election Strategy (Resolution - Carried)

1. The General Election is a period when hundreds of thousands of ordinary people talk about politics. It provides us with an opportunity to raise what we have to say about Labour's record on:-
 - * unemployment
 - * immigration controls
 - * wages
 - * cuts
 - * housing
 - * women's rightsHow do we use this opportunity?
2. We don't believe that there will be a serious Socialist Workers Party intervention in our general politics if there is no direct electoral intervention. All the evidence is that we do not motivate general political campaigns without a focus. We're more likely to organise unemployed workers to tackle Labour ministers when we're fighting Labour than when we're not.

1. The greatest danger if we don't run candidates is that we will completely dislodge ourselves into the anti-labour league. Without candidates and the consequent Socialist Workers Party intervention in the election we will completely fail to establish our independence inside the anti-labour league at a time when all other political organisations will be doing so, and at a time when there is increased awareness of general political arguments.
2. The experience of electoral interventions is that we can build around candidates, and that when elections take place without candidates it is extremely difficult to motivate members' Socialist Workers Party activities.
3. The battle over wages in 1977, over the cuts, over equal pay, at Grunwick, at Lewisham, the Jaminal, the (too) slow rise in 'Socialist Worker' circulation and other left papers, including 'Women's Voice' has created an audience. It would be a tragedy for us not to approach in the General Election as the Socialist Workers Party. We need to choose areas with large Labour majorities so that we can run a strongly anti-labour campaign relating to those many thousands of people (our political party) still disillusioned with Labour's record.
4. We support a maximum left anti-labour vote, and therefore wish to work out a non-co-operation pact with other left-of-labour forces.
5. Socialist Worker has to be honest about expectations and explain why we are standing - not only to the rank-and-file in the constituencies where we are running, but also to all our readers. Nationally we are for keeping the Tories out, but the real task remains the building of the revolutionary socialist alternative.
6. Conference believes that gain can be made for our Party in the General Election by standing a limited number of candidates. We instruct the Central Committee to prepare the ground in discussion with the Districts to ensure that we have at least one candidate in every major area.

190. The second resolution passed in a Standing Commission concerning the [redacted] Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

as follows:-

Electoral Strategy (Resolution - Defeated)

Our original reasons for deciding to stand fifty or sixty candidates at the next General Election remain

valid today; it is not sufficient simply to advocate some militancy where the political arguments of the Government and Trade Union leaders are suffocating workers' resistance etc. We have to pose an overall political solution to all those who are prepared to fight against the poll-tax, racism, sexual oppression, etc., particularly in the run up to the elections when the atmosphere is highly politicised.

Going into the next election with activity on Right to Work, the Anti-Nazi League etc and then quietly saying 'Vote Labour' is to desk our responsibilities to pose this overall solution.

Our recent attempts to pose the 'Socialist Alternative' have been a limited success as a local party building operation but they have been seriously upset in terms of votes by the Socialist Unity offensive. The International Marxist Group have out-flanked us. Despite their lack of a base they have put themselves in the same leagues as us in the eyes of a growing periphery of uncommitted workers and youth. Equally important, the disunity of the left is a barrier preventing workers moving towards revolutionary politics.

A separate campaign with fifteen Socialist Workers Party candidates does not solve these serious problems. The Socialist Unity offensive against us is mainly electoral and it is mainly through a united front electoral strategy with them that we can undercut their vague but quite significant 'Socialist Unity' appeal. No return leaves the field wide open to them. We would be talking of the need for 'the socialist alternative', but in the eyes of the electorate, Socialist Unity would be that alternative and we ourselves would also be voting for it with nothing in return.

Instead we should publicly call for a strictly electoral link up which would include Socialist Unity and as many other organisations as possible from the working class and the black community. We would retain our Socialist Workers Party identity and argue the need for building the revolutionary party and the need for unity in action around concrete issues such as fighting fascism, unemployment, wage controls, etc.

We should fight for an agreed candidate on an agreed platform of opposition to tax, import and immigration controls and support for rank and file organisation, anti-imperialist struggles and the struggles of other oppressed groups (women, gypsies etc) - i.e. an 'anti-national interest' platform which we share with the International Marxist Group (unlike the Broad Left) despite all our other differences with them.

Such a joint electoral campaign:

4. Enables us to raise the resources to put up perhaps fifty candidates and get television time, but even if this figure were not possible we could put up more than the thirty seven the Communist Party presently standing. Our combined resources would be more than the sum of its parts.
5. Means the International Marxist Group can no longer hide behind the more vague appeal of unspecified 'unity' and the argument swings to our terms of building the party out of united struggles.
6. Undercuts the Socialist Unity offensive and allegations of sectarianism. Publicly proposing it would be good propaganda in itself.
7. Makes recruitment to the Socialist Workers Party easier - it leaves the Socialist Unity barrier puts us in contact with their periphery (e.g. various trade groups), and prevents them siphoning off part of the Anti-Nazi League periphery away from us. They don't have the base and structure to seriously recruit from a joint campaign. We do.
8. A joint election campaign gives non-committed Anti-Nazi League supporters something to work for as well as being against the main.
9. There would be considerable spin-off to areas outside the forty or fifty places we had a joint candidate, and spin-off after the election is over. It would help undercut the International Marxist Group in the few areas (e.g. teachers, students) where the International Marxist Group are a real problem on the ground for our comrades. More importantly, a significant electoral bloc to the left of the Communist Party would attract the better elements in the Communist Party/Labour Left.

191. The third and final resolution on electoral strategy was prepared by a drafting committee consisting of Duncan RAILAS, Eddie MURKIN and Andy CHOMICKOW and read as follows:-

Electoral Strategy (Resolution - Defeated)

1. Our original perspective of a major intervention in the General Election (50 to 60 candidates) is not now a serious possibility. It assumed a rising level of class struggle after years of Labour government,

large scale working class dissatisfaction showing in a refusal to vote Labour (as in 1970 when one million Labour votes were lost with little Tory gain in votes) and our electoral dominance to the left of the Communist Party. None of these things are true at present and the existence of a 'radicalised layer' of voters - in fact no greater than the traditional protest vote for the Communist Party - is no substitute.

2. We must nevertheless make a firm Socialist Workers Party intervention in the election by means of posters, a national leaflet special coverage in 'Socialist Worker' (including a special election issue), Right to Work interventions and so on as well as active participation in an Anti-Nazi League Campaign. Real, though modest, gains in numbers and periphery can and must be made through these campaigns.
3. Standing ten to fifteen candidates would add very little to our intervention. It has the disadvantage of putting us in the eyes of the left, in the same league as Socialist Party, the Workers Revolutionary Party, etc., not way below the Communist Party. To intervene on a 'No' scale would be valuable. Since that is not a viable tactical option it is better to say frankly that we do not have the strength to achieve it and to withdraw temporarily from the field so far as candidates are concerned.
4. The option of a pact or alliance with Socialist Unity is no solution. Of course if we could field a substantial number of candidates a non-aggression pact with other forces to the left of Labour would be an important objective. Since we cannot and Socialist Unity cannot either a pact would merely strengthen the 'anti-partyism' that is widespread in the 'radicalised layer'.
5. The thrust of our propaganda must be the bankruptcy of the Labour Party and the necessity to build a real socialist alternative. We should call for an anti-Thatcher vote. Vote Left, Vote Labour or cast a protest vote for candidates left of Labour but build the Socialist Workers Party as the core of the fightback against Thatcher and Callaghan.

192. The vote on these three resolutions, all of which had been prepared during the June meeting, took place before the close of the final session of the ILC (a period specifically set aside for voting on drafting commission reports). The chairperson for the session was Simon PUGH and for the presentation of the resolutions on election strategy he was joined on the platform by Steve CHIPPENDALE and Duncan MILLS, PUGH preferring to remain in his seat among the delegates. MILLS informed the delegator that the first vote to be held would establish whether Conference agreed with the basic content of the resolutions on an individual basis. Once this was done, the resolution prepared

Privacy

by Steve JEWYNS and support was given to it by a substantial majority, the resolution proposed by [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] was defeated easily and the resolution proposed by Duncan DALLAS was carried by a small majority.

193. TURNER then stated that a final vote would be taken in the form of a straight choice between the two resolutions (which were obviously incompatible), each delegate being allowed one vote only. He then instructed the six tellers to count the votes for each resolution (only delegates with pink credentials being permitted a vote) and bring their tallies to the platform following the completion of the voting procedure.

194. When the vote had been completed, TURNER counted the totals produced by the tellers and announced that the resolution proposed by Peter RALEIGH [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] and Steve JEWYNS had been carried by a majority of 74 votes to 56, thus defeating the "MILITIA" resolution. RALEIGH, not satisfied with the accuracy of the count (and taking the defeat as a slight on his political integrity) demanded that the vote be taken again, but TURNER stood his ground and the matter was then closed. (It remains to be seen, however, whether this policy is actually adopted in view of the fact that it was only passed by a minute majority and many of the delegates expressed their dissatisfaction over the failure of all concerned to produce a united policy).

195. After the closure of the debate on 'Election Strategy', Lindsey GEMINI took up the position as chairperson in order that Simon WHITEMAN could present the report and perspectives on 'Finance'.

196. Finance

TURNER opened his address by advising the delegates to read the financial statement which had been prepared by the National Treasurer, [REDACTED] Privacy [REDACTED] and set out on duplicated sheets to be found in the regional conference folders (see Appendix 6 - pages 12 and 13). He explained that these sheets only dealt with the financial inflow of cash to the Party during the preceding twelve months (only a brief comparison being made with the annual total for the previous year); and it could be seen from the figures presented, that the total amount of money received by the National Office on a monthly basis from districts and branches had not increased significantly since the last conference, despite the opportunity to collect information. This was considered a distressing state of affairs, especially when the amount of money received for any particular month could vary by as much as £1,000 pounds, making the task of meeting bills and wages somewhat. The apparent reason for this financial embarrassment was the manner in which local districts and branches tended to finance their own local activities from subscriptions received, instead of sending the money to the National Office. Indeed, some areas which had full-time organisers were drawing more money from the Centre than the districts concerned were sending in.

197. It was considered that individual branches had extremely poor subscription records during January, and in particular subscriptions by local Districts and when the situation had been investigated by Central Committee members, it was found that the Districts and branches' secretaries were all "drifting on very healthy bank balances". This new independent financial status had brought about an attitude within many branches that money was available from subscriptions and no longer was it necessary to lecture the membership in the form of levies or hold additional Fund-raising drives. In particular, there had been a noticeable drop in the number of members who were donating to the Party a portion of any money they received (e.g. whether a tax rebate or an inheritance).

198. The other major problem centred on the 'spendthrift' attitude adopted by some branches of the Party in paying donations to sister organisations, sending gifts from branch funds and paying firms for services not being rendered. Instead of paying collection boxes and encouraging the members to raise money from the local constituency, in this period it was therefore imperative that all branches were given subscriptions payment to the Centre as soon as possible and raised money for purely local issues by other means.

199. It was significant that no full statement of accounts concerning the Central Committee of the Party was (or ever had been) published and it was only known from the unauthorised sources who subsequently learnt that such a move would be too big 'disadvantageous and misleading' for those involved. It was also felt that, whilst Nikolai, at one point in his speech, told the delegates that the position had now been reached where 'the Party could no longer survive by juggling the accounts', 'Central were no more compunction that could go back' and 'the representation fund at the present time, could no longer be raided'.

200. The C.C. revealed that, in order to overcome these problems, the Central Committee had produced a four-point plan which had been designed to increase the inflow of cash into the Party coffers. Their proposals were as follows:-

1. A new system of regular subscriptions would be introduced. Subscriptions would be raised by means of a system of national branches where people direct to the Centre and those national subscriptions thus could not be raised by that method would be collected in cash on a local basis. Local subscriptions should be raised separately by branches either on cash collections.

National subscriptions would be raised using a sliding scale to establish the amount of money paid by individual members in relation to their family size base pay. It was appreciated that the individual financial circumstances of members varied, i.e., they might be married and have children, and in these cases the amount of money collected as

subscriptions would alter accordingly. The rates for a single person proposed under this system would therefore be as follows:-

| Minimum subscription | Banking | 75p |
|----------------------|-------------|-----|
| | not banking | 10p |

Subscription Pay Monthly National Subscription

| Under 30 | 35p |
|----------|-------|
| 30 - 35 | 50p |
| 35 - 40 | 75p |
| 40 - 45 | 1.00p |
| 45 - 50 | 1.25p |
| 50 - 55 | 1.50p |
| 55 - 60 | 1.75p |
| 60 - 65 | 2.00p |
| 65 - 70 | 2.25p |
| 70 - 75 | 2.50p |
| 75 - 80 | 2.75p |
| 80 - 85 | 3.00p |
| 85 - 90 | 3.25p |
| 90 - 100 | 3.50p |

- a. The Specialist Section would launch a lighting fund of £2,000 per month, with the emphasis on raising the money from the provincial districts. The Party in the form of branch orders from Districts and Sections. In addition to this, individual branches should make a monthly appeal to the party and provide a percentage from the profits of local promotional activities.
- b. The section would become responsible for the payment of the wage incurred by all full-time party workers, although expenses would remain the responsibility of the district concerned.
- c. Tony GILBY was to be placed in overall charge of the initial drive for the branch order and national subscription system.

2011. There was then a short discussion on the implications of the new subscription system, the main criticism from the delegates being that it had been "dictated" to the branches by the central party organisation without time for sufficient discussion, and a drafting committee was elected to produce a resolution on the matter. The drafting committee consisted of Tony GILBY, Alan STANNETT and their respective colleagues.

Finance

(Resolution)

Conference has decided on a variety of political initiatives to build and strengthen our Party in the coming months (General Election campaign, local government posts, Black, etc.). These decisions have to be funded by of financial resources which should in part be raised from outside the membership of the Socialist Workers Party. In power before, Finance is a political question. Raising money from our constituency can be a mechanism for introducing a political agenda.

Over the past year or two the amount of money raised externally from memberships has drastically fallen. While regular contributions from members are critical to the survival of the Party bulletin, it makes the use of other forms of appropriate business orders as a part of our strategy but maximize any other possibilities.

The former attitude to raising money from outside the organization has led in many areas, to an equally bad attitude to money inside the organization. National offices are very poor and in many cases non-existent. Most branches and districts need to raise substantially the level of subscriptions to the Central, regional branch and district treasurers who are local politicians, and to embark on a consistent fundraising drive. In concrete terms this means a number of potential sources:

National Subscriptions

Conference reaffirms the decision taken by the Central Committee and unanimously endorsed by the April meeting of the National Advisory Committee, to introduce from 1 July 1970 a sliding scale of national subscriptions.

The scales have been printed in an internal bulletin and in a letter to Branches. It is a guide intended for those members with few financial commitments and those at a local level should be sensitive when using it, particularly with new members. The National Business Order is the best mechanism for ensuring that individual subscriptions reach the centre on a regular basis. All branches with bank accounts should fill in bank-order forms. Those who do not have bank accounts must be encouraged to open them, unless extreme circumstances prevail. Those who cannot will pay the new level of subscriptions in cash, which will be forwarded regularly to the Central by the local treasurer. The new level of subscriptions means that branch treasurers will have to be more efficient and vigilant about the collection of such subscriptions to thereby prevent the building up of unpaid debts.

[REDACTED]

After the implementation of these levels of subscriptions takes place, districts now paying sums to their full-time organisers will no longer do so. They will be paid from the Centre.

Local Subscriptions and Fund-raising

The system of direct subscriptions by the Centre will mean that local treasurers will now be and their role not only as subscriptions collectors but more and more as fund-raisers of local finance, and that the emphasis must be on fund-raising from sources (displays, film nights, fairs, commercial appeals at public meetings, etc) and raising money regularly from the periphery rather than a static local subscription system. To assist in this process the national centre requires and will solicit input and information on fund-raising from the branches. It will produce a handbook for fund-raisers/treasurers based on this information.

The organisation of arm schools on fund-raising should also be taken up by the districts in conjunction with the Centre.

Experience has shown that in some cases branches and districts have set up financially sustainable local ventures. Those which wish to do so should have consultations with the Central Committee before a decision is reached.

202. This resolution was presented to Conference during the final session of the day and was carried 'unanimously'.

203. Lindsey GOMES then asked the delegates to remain in their seats for a short period before going to lunch in order that Duncan HALLAS could return to the platform and make a brief announcement.

204. HALLAS reminded the delegates that the following morning was the final session of the conference and, in view of this, it would be necessary for the resolutions concerning 'Nationalism and Revolution', 'Our Work' and 'Organization and Training' to be drawn up prior to the actual debate in order that the voting could be completed within the conference period.

205. Silvia TIBBETT once again received an ovation when she conference commenced after the lunch break and immediately introduced [REDACTED] a member of the Socialist Workers Party (Northern Ireland) to open the debate on Ireland and Irish work.

Privacy

Privacy spoke for approximately half an hour on the policies and activities of the British Government in relation to Northern Ireland, dealing specifically with the repressive nature of the special air service, the British Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary he described as the "invading" imperialist regime. This was followed by Jerry FERRANTI, the Irish spokesman of the Socialist Workers Party, who presented a report on the achievements of the Party during the past year and the perspectives for the future in relation to Irish work.

207. FERRANTI informed the delegates that Irish work had continued throughout the previous year at a moderate pace, with the Socialist Workers Party being involved in most of the initiatives that had been taken, including pickets against the renovation of prison, sit-in protest of the anti-imperialist prisoners. The most significant events, however, had been the part played by the Party in launching the International Tribunal on the British Presence in Ireland.

208. He then qualified this list of "impressive" activities with the comment that only a handful of members from the Party had consistently committed themselves to Irish work, the remainder tending to ignore the question completely.

209. This work, over the past years, had been regarded by some of the Party membership as the task of "Irish specialists" and, more recently, with only a handful of members taking part, the Irish question had slipped in priority when compared with other activities. FERRANTI then informed the delegates that the time had come to change this outlook and draw up a programme that would immediately involve the entire membership of the Party.

210. Following a brief outline of the activities of the People's Det and United Troops Det Movements, the Anti- Internment League and the activities of the Socialist Labour Party in the south of Ireland, FERRANTI dealt with the specific areas of Irish work where it was necessary to concentrate the efforts of the Party membership during the coming year. The first of these was "anti-recruitment" work and he reminded the delegates that the current high unemployment rate provided a fertile recruiting ground for the armed forces. It was essential, therefore, to mobilise against any recruiting campaign and involve local existing organisations at local queues to prevent school leavers and the unemployed joining the army.

211. The next item of discussion was the building of a genuine "classless" party inside the labour movement and, whilst recognising that it was not possible to build a mass organisation at the present time, it was nevertheless

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

essential that arguments over jingoism should whenever possible in order to create a good foundation for future militant activity.

212. The last section of his talk dealt with the support given by the Socialist Workers Party to the Provisional Irish Republican Army and he stressed that the criterion on this was the fact that the PIRA forces were fighting British imperialism and therefore were entitled to unconditional support. However, in answer with the Party line on the topic, he added that the communists could not agree with the methods and tactics used by the "Provisional fighters" but would reserve the right to criticize their actions. He then spoke briefly on the subjects of solidarity with Irish socialists and the various forms of propaganda available to assist members of the party in their fight on behalf of the Irish working class.

213. He resolved by informing the delegates that Ireland was not "just another problem for revolutionary socialists", but a blight on all of the British imperialist war machine at work in close proximity to the bases of the British labour movement. There was no option for the Socialist Workers Party as revolutionary socialists, but to commence an immediate programme of conversion amongst the existing class movement in order to build a militant activity against the British presence in Ireland based on the following four plagues:-

Troops Out Now

Self Determination for the Irish People

Unconditional but not uncritical support
to all those fighting British imperialism

A 12 County Socialist Ireland.

214. [REDACTED] thanked [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] for their contributions and expressed his thanks for all the work done by the delegations from all three sections before agreeing that a drafting committee be appointed. The drafting committee consisted of [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] from [REDACTED]. The delegation meeting so follows:-

Irish Army

(Revolution)

This conference confirms that the Socialist Workers Party's position is:-

1. For the immediate withdrawal of all British troops.
2. For the right of the Irish people to determine their own future.

- 91
- [REDACTED]
5. For the formation of a socialist republic.
 6. To demand that our constitutional support to all those fighting British Imperialism.
 7. For the repeal of all repressive legislation including the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Prevention of Corruption Act.
 8. For the immediate release of all Irish political prisoners.

The coverage in our publications is still inadequate and over-weighted on Northern situation. 'Socialist Worker' must carry weekly articles. An attempt must be made to explain why Irish people need to resort to arms and bank. Both 'Worker's Voice' and Socialist Review have an important role to play and must have regular coverage. Given our worldwide organisation it is essential that Ireland is covered in the news and file rooms and workplace bulletins.

It is important that Socialist Workers Party branches and district organise meetings on Ireland. There is a desperate need for broad discussion on Ireland as well as larger public meetings.

The new booklet on Ireland must be properly used by the organisation. It provides the background information that is required if we are to intervene effectively around the Irish issue. It must ensure that the pamphlet is sold as widely as possible. The 'Socialist Worker Review', which is produced by the Socialist Workers tendency in Ireland, must be read by every member and where possible sold to Irish workers in Britain.

In the coming year the Socialist Workers Party must organise in the following areas:-

1. International Festival

This is an important initiative which will enable us to take our arguments on Ireland into the labour movement. We must not waste this opportunity. Socialist Workers Party members must argue for support for the Trócaire particularly in the trade union movement. It is essential that there is a large Socialist Workers Party presence on the Tribunal next spring.

2. Political Prisoners

The campaign for the return of political status is at present the most important initiative in the North. The Socialist Workers Party must do all it can to support this campaign. In particular:-

- a) Support and organise public meetings at which would from the Relatives Action Committees are invited to speak.

- b) Support demonstrations and pickets calling for the return of political status - e.g. July 1st.

3. Building a "Trotskyist" current

The British working class is the only force this side of the Irish sea capable of driving Britain out of Ireland. It is therefore essential for socialists to try and build a current inside the British Labour Movement around the slogan of "Through Out Now". In particular we must:-

- a) Argue for the Trotskyist position inside the labour movement.
- b) Organise anti-austerity campaigns to cover the economic recession facing many school leavers.
- c) Organise pickets and support for Irish activists and militants held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

This resolution was carried 'unanimously' when placed before Conference later the same day.

215. Since 1979, when introduced Peter COOMBS to lead off the debate on International Work.

215. International work

The entire content of COOMBS's speech dealt with the similarities in revolutionary struggle throughout the world and the manner in which it was essential for the Socialist Workers Party to maintain close links with revolutionary socialist groups and trends in other countries, in some cases taking solidarity action with unions groups in this country. It appeared that a great deal of this speech was 'over the heads' of many delegates who were not sufficiently aware of the structure of the international socialist organisation or the details of individual revolutionary groups or struggles taking place in other countries. The resolution on this topic, presented by a working committee consisting of

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

International work

(continued)

The Socialist Workers Party is an internationalist organisation. It is therefore essential that we devote the necessary resources to international work.

International work can be divided into two general areas:-

[REDACTED]

1. Building international consciousness and activity among the working class. There is a tradition of the revolutionary left, including our organisation, of seeing this as being centred on frequent central London demonstrations. We have to make conscious efforts to break with this tradition and make the fight for internationalist consciousness part of every aspect of our everyday work. International issues must be regularly taken up in Socialist meetings, in pamphlets, in branch meetings and publications and above all in the unions and the workplace.

Among the most important areas of this work in the coming year will be the fight against Zionism and the building of a Palestine Solidarity Campaign. Because of its ideological importance we should also put specific emphasis on the struggle against the state capitalist regime of Eastern Europe.

2. Spreading our politics internationally with the ultimate goal of building a revolutionary international.

The crisis of the international revolutionary left provides new opportunities at the same time as it re-emphasises the necessity of this work. We must not have the illusion that we have the answer to everything, nor that rapid results can be achieved. The fight for our politics on the international scene requires long term, patient and detailed work. But the organisation must ensure that the resources and commitment to members are provided to ensure that this work goes on.

2.1 The work involves:-

- a) the development of top level contacts and discussions with foreign organisations, with the object of spreading these discussions in print to a wider audience.
- b) the building of the International Discussion Bulletin as an organ of international debate. All members must be aware of their responsibility to our own international contacts they have to build its circulation.
- c) systematic attempts to intervene in debates in the international revolutionary press.
- d) work amongst exiles in Britain. This is vital to the building of cadres who will eventually return to their home countries.

All members must take the initiative in drawing foreign contacts into the practical work of our organisation, argue the general politics of the Socialist Workers Party with them and put them in touch with the relevant specialist SWP or the International Department. Again, the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

International Discussion Bulletin is an important weapon
for communists in this task.

We must give every possible assistance to these organisations
in power countries which nationally share our policies
and nationally begin to see themselves as an International
Community.

This resolution was carried by a substantial majority when placed
before Conference during its short break. In the proceedings the
following day, in addition to the formal discussions which took
place during the conference proper, there was a three hour meeting
between the members from the International Department of the Party
and foreign observers attending the conference following the final
session on the agenda on Saturday 21 June 1978.

237. After the debate on International tasks had been completed,
Wilson informed Conference that the time had been reached for
the election of the Central Committee, Central Commission and
National Advisory Committee and invited James HALIFAX to the
platform to preside over the procedure.

238. Election of Central Committee, Central Commission and
National Advisory Committee

Before commencing the voting procedure to elect the new
Central Committee, HALIFAX reminded the delegates of the need to
comply with Article 13 of Conference Standing Orders which stated
that 'Delegates must vote for a full committee in each case'.
He then informed them that he would call, first of all, with the
election of the Central Committee and stated that

Privacy [REDACTED] both numbers of the retiring body; the
vacancies created for re-election due to presence or want (in
fact Privacy [REDACTED] in excess of the 'allowable' party shop and
branch representation). In view of this, he asked whether there
were any proposals from the floor regarding the constitution
of the new Central Committee. No such ones were received, but
formulated a 'list' which had been prepared by the retiring numbers
and read as follows:-

Alex CALLINARIS
Tony CLIFF
John DAWSON
Norman GOLDBECK
Chris HARRAN
Paul HOLLOWAY

Privacy [REDACTED]

Jim MCKEE
Margaret MUNN
Wilson TURNER

[REDACTED]

While proposed was then put to the vote and carried by a unanimous decision, despite the fact that prior to Conference there had been a considerable disagreement amongst the membership for a 'radically new look' party leadership.

219. The next item was the election of a Central Commission and in view of the relationship it enjoyed with the Central Council this did not surprise that Brother HALLAS presented another 'list' for this body, which read as follows:-

Peter HALLAS
James LALIĆ

Privacy

Tomislav ŠEGUĆ

Privacy

Much to his surprise, however, the proposal was not challenged and the delegates voted by a unanimous decision to accept the names suggested.

220. The election of the National Advisory Committee was not much of a easy task and there was considerable disagreement between the delegates concerning the number of members which should constitute the committee and the qualifications required of committee members. It should be remembered at this stage that a list for nominations had been open for the previous three days, the final total amounting to eight-hundred names, from which only forty members would be elected to the National Advisory Committee. This list had been submitted by the Conference Advisory Committee in consultation with their delegates to forty-five unions and affiliated bodies to the commencement of the elections. The problem was, however, that all the business (with the exception of [REDACTED] who were able to represent their own delegations) was concerned how his particular union was proportionately represented on the national body (the fact that some unions had five members caused no little difference in this).

Privacy

221. Eventually, after much argument, it was proposed from the floor that Article 5(a) of the Socialist Workers Party constitution be amended to read 'The National Advisory Committee consist of 10 members. It normally meets at two month intervals'. This was immediately seen as an honourable opinion and carried by a unanimous vote. The list of nominations and final constitution of the National Advisory Committee are given in Appendix V (pages 27-30) to this report.

222. The final session of the day was devoted to the presentation of drafting committee reports (including the General Election Strategy, previously mentioned) and

[REDACTED]

After the completion of this last and concluding session, Simon RAYNER signed the business at 1pm.

Wednesday 21 June 1978

Agenda

| | |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| 9.30 - 10.30 | Nationalism and Revolution |
| 10.30 - 11.00 | Break |
| 11.00 - 12.30 | Innovation, Training and Propaganda |
| 12.30 - 1.00 | Conference closing by |

223. Duncan HALLAN opened the business on this final day of Conference properly at 9.30am and immediately launched the debate on 'Nationalism and Revolution', calling Peter HILL and Alex CALLAGHAN to the platform as speakers.

224. owing to a shortage of time Committee discussions had been elected the previous evening to draw up resolutions on the subject for debate during the morning and, instead of the debates being led off by a speech on future policy, they were started with the presentation of the 'National Committees' resolutions, confirmed by way of debate and completed with a vote on the proposal(s) in question.

Nationalism and Revolution

The resolutions on this subject were thus presented by HILL and CALLAGHAN in accordance with the above procedure.

225. The first resolution was prepared by Peter HILL, Jim HICKS and [REDACTED] and read as follows:-

Nationalism and Revolution (Resolution - Started)

We affirm the right of the Scottish people to self-determination as a matter of principle. In England the party clearly says yes to the right of the Scottish people to self-determination or an assembly. But we don't believe that is the question we have to resolve.

[REDACTED]

The lesson in the present period we have to achieve
is not to be - whether the demand for a Scottish
Assembly is a progressive demand we should support
in the struggle for socialism or whether it diverts
that struggle.

We believe to truly support for a yes position leads
us to internationalise by a third ally not seriously
impair our ability to win the ideological arguments
for a socialist alternative.

For us to move against the Assembly proposal does
not mean that support for the present British state
and constitution any more than moving on to the
current court support for the unity of the British
nation state.

The establishment of such an assembly would not, we
believe, lead to any improvement in the conditions
of the Scottish working class. However the
situation for most of humanity will not be able to
provide a strategy to satisfy the needs of the
Scottish people (low, worse, working conditions,
levels of inflation or an improved health service).

In Angus Lewis' Yes vote for such an assembly is to
create a more favourable climate to the nationalist
movement. What the only way to achieve these goals
is a separate state.

Scottish nationalists cannot remain neutral on the issue.

To prove the argument in Yes to an assembly is to
encourage workers to see the solution to their problems
as being separation from England rather than in class
terms.

Controllable sections of Scottish workers are not so
naive. Our Scottish party would be puzzled if we
were to say Yes to something which they already know
is no answer.

Our task in Scotland is to build a propaganda campaign
to convince workers that there is a socialist alternative,
and the only answer clearly our own New Association,
participation and contributions to the economic crisis
expelled and do this. We have to build a serious opposition
on the issues of unemployment, decent housing, hospital
care, etc., and other class issues. A battle for a
Socialist Workers Party. No other position allows us
to put our total opposition to the British State and
combat the current reactivation of Scottish nationalism.

227. The second resolution on this subject was prepared by
a Scottish committee of members of Alex GALLAGHER and Andy
STRATHORN and read as follows:-

[REDACTED]

Resolution and the National Question (Scotland - Ireland)

1. Our starting point as revolutionary socialists in approaching the national question is the fight for the international unity of all workers. But we cannot just allow our concern for working class unity to be confined without regarding the integrity of the capitalist nation state intact. On the contrary, the main fight is against the state and the capitalist nationalist ideology to which it gives place.
2. Conferences support the right of self-determination for the Scottish and Welsh peoples. We do so not because we have any illusions in nationalism, but because -
 - a) In doing so we can show that revolutionary socialists are opposed to all forms of national oppression, and
 - b) Workers can be drawn into political activity in many ways, including national movements.
3. However, to support the right of self-determination is not to support the methods of that right in all situations. Independence, let alone local autonomy, will not resolve all the problems of Scotland and Welsh workers - only the struggle for genuine power on British and International scale offers a solution.
4. In particular the Scottish National Party is an openly capitalist party committed to win through separation and then, independence, a better deal for sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. In no sense is it an anti-nationalist party. One of the main tasks of Socialist Workers Party members in Scotland is to expose the bourgeois nationalism of the Scottish Nationalist Party.
5. However, devolution is a process in which many sections (and, to a lesser extent Welsh) workers have illusions. The Resolution on Devolution we therefore by no means suggest that the Scottish Nationalist Party is finished, especially since the Labour Party officially supports Devolution. We must expose it clearly, but while we do not share their illusions, we will do nothing to prevent Scottish and Welsh workers going through the experience of a local assembly and, if they choose, independence.

6. The referendum provided for under the Devolution Bill offers us three choices - to call for a No vote, for Abstention or for a Yes vote.

7. We will vote a 'No' in to line up with the majority, the overwhelming of British Industry, over 80% of the United Kingdom. The Conservative 'Yes' opposition to devolution is no longer tenable. The alternative is a nationalist strategy which seeks to leave the positions of British workers at the expense of workers in other countries.

8. The Conservative amendment to the Devolution Bill, which requires a 'Yes' vote by 40% of registered voters for devolution to be implemented, means that to abstain is effectively to vote 'No'.

9. The only remaining alternative is to call for a 'Yes' vote. Within the 'Yes' camp we would make our own distinctive politics - arguing for change not through parliament, but through mass struggle and pressure on the solution not national separation, but international socialism.

220. When these resolutions were put to the vote, the predominantly pro government 'Yes' Bill and supporters was carried by a substantial majority and that proposed by ~~ANTIPODOS~~ and supporters was defeated.

221. ~~ANTIPODOS~~ then moved on to the penultimate item for discussion on the agenda and introduced Privacy to present the resolution on 'Gay Rights'.

222. ~~ANTIPODOS~~

Privacy

223. ~~ANTIPODOS~~ informed the resolution on 'Gay Rights' that he had been informed by the chairperson of the Conference that it was not satisfactory that this topic receive attention and therefore, for a debate on this topic receive attention. He informed by the chairperson that this was the only point available and that the situation would be remedied in future. Privacy informed the delegates (in a fit of pique) that he considered there to be insufficient time to give a detailed report on 'Gay Rights' during the past twelve months and that instead, he would lead a short discussion on the implementation of the points raised in the resolution, which read as follows:-

Gay Rights

(Resolution)

1. The Conference considers that there is a growing interest in the political significance of personal relationships, sexual behavior

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[REDACTED]

our roles. This is particularly true of 'radicalised' youth and of course this is how confronting their oppression on a wider scale. The mere fact that this form of discrimination creates resentment and ferment makes it essential that we relate to it in order to draw people closer to us politically. Our Committee in Bank against sexism was already beginning to do this.

2. We might have always had much more on the ball in this area from the left. We have to raise up issues such as 'homophobia' within the family unit, 'Homophobia' ('Oppression Against Sexuality'), the Whitehouse campaign against 'Gay Power' and the general political fascism. We have to take up the role of the police, media, education process in enforcing standardised sexual behaviour.
3. There is a danger that these issues can become abstract and 'empty'. A clear orientation on the workplace is therefore very important. Employment rights for homosexuals, trade union support for gay rights demonstrations, etc. are central and we must carry this necessity into the Gay Movement. New and old gay groups continue to appear within the trade unions.
4. We recognise that the struggle against lesbian oppression is fundamentally different to that of heterosexual men and needs a different organisational approach.
5. 'Socialist Workers' and the Bank and File papers need to take up gay politics much more aggressively than they have in the past.
6. We are still failing to consider homosexuals in the Gay movement when producing propaganda. This is a very serious omission in the case of anti-fascist material.
7. There is a continuing need for education of our members and constituency on the subject of sexual politics.

As a result of the debate on this resolution, no amendment was proposed, and carried as follows:-

Conference recognises the importance of the pamphlet on sexual politics and instructs the training sub-committee to produce it as a matter of urgency.

A vote was then taken on the resolution 'as tabled' and it was carried by a substantial majority, the remaining delegates preferring to abstain rather than vote against the motion.

231. When this rapidly running out, DALEA then requested that he be allowed to immediately initiate the final session of the business and subsequently presented the following three resolutions on "Education, Training and Propaganda":-

Training and Education

(Resolution - Carried)

Confidential. Conference feels, as well as the pocket resolutions, a Manual of basic pamphlets, priced R5p should be produced on our basic policies and perennial topics which should be kept permanently in print.

- a) The existing Central Committee should set up a permanent training sub-committee, comprising a number of worker members and full-timers, including members with special skills (e.g. in the use of different media), and a fully committed member of the Central Committee with overall responsibility for training.
- b) Set up a proper training department with a full-time staff member whose sole task is in training.
- c) Inform the membership of the composition of the sub-committees and department and the tasks they have been set, through the Internal Bulletin.
- d) Call on Districts, branches, etc., to appoint training officers and to co-ordinate direct to the training department and through the Internal Bulletin. The training department and sub-committee should facilitate a continual exchange of ideas, information and materials for training with the possibility seriously considering the many good suggestions which have recently been made in the Internal Bulletin; encourage the imaginative use of different media and liaison in training with other central departments, sub-committees and groups (the Industrial Department, Women's Voice, Press, South African Solidarity Campaign, Eastern Cape Group, etc.). As training is involved in all our activities the training department's leading role is vitally important, both in terms of the particular training needs of the different sections of the party, and in co-ordinating their particular contributions to the training of all socialist workers Party members.

Health and Safety

(Resolution - Carried)

Confidential notes that when struggles around wages and remuneration are suppressed, many militants seek to maintain vigilance organisations and always consciousness by making and fighting road issues of health and

safety. Conference also notes that this October a whole new layer of potential shopfloor union positions will be created, i.e., health and safety representatives.

Conference, recognising the importance of health and safety at work and the potential for being a net of issues around which mass and file organization can be built, resolves that:-

1. The National Advisory Committee and Central Committee should discuss ways around health and safety issues with a view to starting an education and training programme;
2. Before September a 'product manifesto' on health and safety be issued;
3. Sections should encourage discussion of health and safety and maintain close co-operation with the Socialist Workers Party Defence Group.

Industrial and Political

(Resolution - Cont'd.)

Conference resolves that the industrial department of the Central Committee, in collaboration with members of the National Advisory Committee, etc., produce by the autumn a Socialist Workers Party Industrial publication:-

'The New Industrial Offensive and How to Fight It - a militant's handbook for organising in the workplace'.

To be produced in a first edition of 20,000 in the 50p - £1 price range.

The following topics would be covered:-

Introduction

New things have changed since the last Review Offensive (productivity deals, starting in the early '80s, peaking in the late '80s and '90s); interpretation of economic and consumer interests; new structures; income policy; increases in employment and growth of legislation affecting shop stewards but also spread of unionism to new areas (white collar workers, hotel workers, garment manufacture, etc.); especially however, crisis of shop steward movement.

Back to First Principles

'The majority decides'; rebuilding shopfloor democracy.
'Unity is strength'; dealing with scabs, spineless unions

[REDACTED]

officials, media, etc. 'An injury to one is an injury to all' - fight against victimisation.

Proactive liaison with the book

Officially approached with the book (fighting over the 'right to manage')s dealing with the law (Health and Safety Act, Industrial tribunals). Section - non-cooperation, strikes, meetings, balloting, etc.

Reproduced in factory hall

Solidarity action: collecting money, support committees, building rank and file organisation.

In the end it comes down to rank and file

Right-hand development of the 'left trade union leaders', collapse of traditional militants organisation, the Broad Left, New Left movement, the Right to Work Committee, the formation a few workers party, why the Socialist Workers Party.

The book had to be written with a wealth of concrete readable cases from the experience of big events and that of (very) small ones, so that it can be genuinely used by a broad, militant militants to be more effective in every aspect of their work.

How book resolution?

It's necessary for the Socialist Workers Party to make a great turn to the class. The last time we made such a turn, we had roughly a student/secondary membership. The turn was made to win us significant working class membership. It had largely if we successfully membership grew from about exactly one thousand to ten thousand. Of the members about fifty per cent were manual workers. How was it done? Very professionally - Cliff wrote a book in collaboration with a large number of militants called 'the new bosses offensive - productivity deals and how to fight them'. And the book served both as a visiting card to thousands of militants whom we got to know for the first time and as a weapon with which we could argue and win militants to our politics.

History never simply repeats itself of course but it is true that the writing in the shop stewards movement which produced the opportunity we seized with the 'prod' book as it was called has reappeared though in a much more modern, more political form.

New & Fresh?

Our current growth from 2 to 5 thousand members has meant we have many new, young and, as far as industrial work is concerned, inexperienced members. Just as with

[REDACTED]

the last time to the point, our educational centre is far too small to provide the educational maintenance that inexperienced militants need. At the same time with the decay of socialist consciousness, very few militants are not satisfied the basic training they would have got, say 20 years ago. There is a vacuum emerging and if we don't fill it, the right will. Already the Workers Union Committee is maintaining four funds to send 100,000 pounds a year on courses (that's every steward in the country, once every three years).

At the same time the bulk of our membership on the outside as far as workplace committees are concerned, the factory bulletin initiative launched by the Central Committee last autumn has failed to meet its main objective, namely a decisive shift towards the organisation in a workplace orientation. Very parts of the organisation did respond but, regrettably, very regrettably, very regrettably slow they were politically on this. Already on the basis, consider a bulletin is something we can all do, it can be the instrument we use to turn the organisation as a whole a decisive step towards being rooted in the workplace (and thereby leading far more successfully to an increase in the number of bulletins).

236. These three resolutions covered substantially the main criticisms which had been levelled at the party leadership during the preceding month, particularly the severe lack of any basic training programme for new members of the Socialist Workers Party and the failure to instruct new and fledgeling workers on the manner in which to evaluate the situation in the workplace. In the event, following a short discussion, the resolutions were finally passed by a unanimous vote.

237. HANNAH then called on the International of the Party, Tony CLIFF, to make a short appraisal of the Conference of Committees.

238. CLIFF, in his usual way, succinctly summarised the many major issues that had been resolved by the delegation (with the exception of the election strategy) and then drew the conclusion that in the coming period of struggle it would be essential for the Socialist Workers Party, by relating to its base constituency gained through the activities of the Industrial League, Young's Voice, Black and Other groups, to build the fight for a socialist alternative amongst the working class movement.

239. Duncan HANNAH then thanked the delegates for their attention on behalf of the Central Committee and announced that the conference was closed at 1pm.

[REDACTED]

- APPENDIX 1** Analysis of SWP membership and recruitment figures for major districts and individual branches.
- APPENDIX 2** Figures for membership from 'Socialist Worker' application slips (in paper) and recruitment resulting from those applications.
- APPENDIX 3** Trade Unions in which the SWP has active members.
- APPENDIX 4** Analysis of membership of SWP in relation to Trade Union participation 1976 - 1979.
- APPENDIX 5** Analysis of union membership of conference delegates.
- APPENDIX 6** Analysis of the financial situation of the SWP.
- APPENDIX 7** Analysis of production figures and sales percentages for "Socialist Worker" since the 1977 conference.
- APPENDIX 8** Analysis of weekly editions of "Socialist Worker" showing number of writers employed, number of strikes reported and corresponding total strikes per month recorded at the Department of the Environment.
- APPENDIX 9** Analysis of publications produced and printed by the SWP for unions and 'rank and file' organisations.
- APPENDIX 10** Analysis of production and sales figures for 'Socialist Review', up to 15 June 1979.
- APPENDIX 11** Analysis of membership figures for 'Flame', the Black Caucus of the SWP.
- APPENDIX 12** Analysis of the National Organisation of International Student Societies membership and influence within student establishments.
- APPENDIX 13** Comparison of union membership for women members of the SWP for 1976, 1977, 1978.

- APPENDIX 14 Analysis of production figures and sales percentages for 'Women's Voice' since January 1977.
- APPENDIX 15 Full nomination list for the National Advisory Committee of the SWP.
- APPENDIX 16 List of full-time Party workers.
- APPENDIX 17 List of delegates.
- APPENDIX 18 List of foreign delegates.
- APPENDIX 19 Editorial Staff of 'Socialist Worker' attending on 'full' delegate credentials.
- APPENDIX 20 List of accredited observers.
- APPENDIX 21 Stewards responsible for security.
- APPENDIX 22 List of persons mentioned in the report or appendices, references to whom are not shown elsewhere.
- APPENDIX 23 List of organizations mentioned in conference report.
- APPENDIX 24 List of publications mentioned in report and appendices.

APPENDIX I

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

Analysis of Socialist Workers Party membership
and recruitment figures for major districts and
individual branches

Growth of major districts

| | | Membership at Conference in 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | |
|----------------|---|---------------------------------------|------|---------------------|------------------------|
| <u>London</u> | | | | | |
| Central | - | Brent } Went. } | 134 | 165 | 140 * |
| East | - | Newham & Ilford } Waltham Forest } | 87 | 134 | 135 |
| Inner East | - | Hackney Tower Hamlets } | 65 | 125 | 140 |
| North | - | (Islington) (Lea Valley) | 84 | 109 (55) (54) | 160 (100) (60) * |
| North West | - | Hammersmith North West London } | 68 | 84 | 125 |
| South East | - | | 60 | 79 | 79 |
| South West | - | (South London) (South West London) | 79 | 126 (90) (46) | 166 (152) (54) |
| West Middlesex | - | | 50 | 60 | 60 |

Note: The figures in parentheses indicate membership totals (where available) for districts within a larger, geographical district. When considering the figures marked with an asterisk, it is necessary to appreciate that during the past year the membership of two Central London branches has been transferred to the Islington District in North London.

PROVINCES

| | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|-----|-----|-----|
| Birmingham | | 47 | 65 | 100 | |
| Coventry | | 44 | 50 | 59 | |
| Edinburgh | | 40 | 55 | 100 | |
| Glasgow | - | Central } Paisley } West } | 160 | 250 | 210 |
| Leeds | | 58 | 150 | 125 | |
| Manchester | - | North East, South East) South West & Salford | 80 | 120 | 176 |
| Nottingham | | | 40 | 105 | 125 |

APPENDIX I (contd)

| | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 |
|-----------|------|------|------|
| Sheffield | 40 | 105 | 125 |
| Tyneside | 37 | 80 * | 87 |

* This figure possibly includes the total for Sunderland Branch

Recruitment Figures since Conference 1977

| <u>METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS</u> | <u>Total recruitment since Conference 1977</u> | <u>Increase in membership since Conference 1977</u> |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| Central London | 21 | -25 * |
| East London | 65 | 1 |
| Inner East London | 30 | 15 |
| North London | 73 | 51 * |
| North West London | 50 | 41 |
| South West London | 32 | 60 |
| South East London | 35 | 0 |
| West Middlesex | 29 | 0 |

* See 'NOTE' on previous page

PROVINCES (Districts)

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|----------------|
| Birmingham | 62 | 15 |
| Black Country | 24 | Not applicable |
| Belfast | 27+ | Not applicable |
| Cardiff | 23 | Not applicable |
| Coventry | 9 | 9 |
| Edinburgh | 45 | 15 |
| Glasgow (Central/Paisley/West) | 94 | -40 |
| Hull | 13 | Not applicable |
| Leeds | 43 | -25 |
| Leicester | 16 | Not applicable |
| Manchester (M6/M8/M4/Salford) | 69 | 48 |
| Merseyside | 68 | 8 |
| Sheffield | 65 | 20 |
| Stockport | 15 | Not applicable |
| Swansea | 2 | Not applicable |
| Tyneside | 27 | 7 |
| Bradford | 14 | Not applicable |

APPENDIX I (contd)

Members of the Socialist Workers Party in the
counties showing several minor figures since
Conference 1977

| | | | |
|--------------------|----|----------------------|----|
| Aberdeen | 14 | Bart's Room | 9 |
| Abury Heath | 6 | Ely | 1+ |
| Allonby | 0 | Essexshire | 6 |
| Ashford | 3 | Fenster | 2 |
| Bangor | 5 | Falkirk | 6 |
| Barnsley | 0 | Forest of Dean | 1 |
| Bacup | 4 | Glenrothes | 0 |
| Bathgate | 5 | Gloucester | 9 |
| Bath | 5 | Goals | 3 |
| Beeches | 7 | Grantham | 1 |
| Bedford | 9 | Gravesend | 12 |
| Blackburn | 5 | Grays | 5 |
| Blackpool | 4 | Grimsby | 0 |
| Bridgewater | 6 | Guildford & Woking | 5 |
| Brighton | 13 | Halifax | 11 |
| Christians | 27 | Harrow | 7 |
| Dunstable | 0 | Harrowgate | 11 |
| Duxbury St Edmunds | 3 | Hounslow Heathland | 9 |
| Denton | 3 | High Peak | 1 |
| Derry (Lancs) | 8 | High Wycombe | 8 |
| Dunfermline | 10 | Hitchin | 4 |
| Eastbourne | 5 | Huddersfield | 5 |
| Caterbury | 10 | Ipswich | 2 |
| Cardiff | 16 | Lancaster | 0 |
| Carlisle | 3 | Leicester | 8 |
| Chelmsford | 3 | Leamington | 22 |
| Chester | 2 | Lincoln | 3 |
| Chesterfield | 3 | Llanelli | 5 |
| Colechester | 6 | Loughborough | 12 |
| Craviley | 3 | Lovestoft | 2 |
| Crook | 2 | Luton | 1 |
| Burlington | 3 | Maidstone | 4 |
| Bertry | 4 | Mansfield and Sutton | 7 |
| Bewdley | 0 | Medway | 8 |
| Bromsgrove | 12 | North Cornwall | 1 |
| Denbighshire | 0 | Newport | 9 |
| Dunfermline | 0 | Northampton | |
| Dunfries | 0 | | |

APPENDIX I (contd)

| | | | |
|----------------|----|---------------------|----|
| Banbury | 6 | Norwich | 22 |
| Durham | 4 | Nottingham | 10 |
| Oxford | 20 | Telford | 3 |
| Plymouth | 1 | Tunbridge Wells | 5 |
| Preston | 8 | Wakefield | 3 |
| Pontypridd | 12 | Warrington | 10 |
| Poole | 1 | Wellingborough | 1 |
| Portsmouth | 13 | Watford | 2 |
| Port Talbot | 1 | Welwyn and Hatfield | 15 |
| Preston | 9 | Wigan | 5 |
| Reading | 25 | Worthington | 0 |
| Rochdale | 0 | Wrexham | 2 |
| Romford | 1 | York | 6 |
| Rugby | 0 | | |
| Saffron Walden | 3 | | |
| St Albans | 15 | | |
| St Helens | 0 | | |
| Shrewsbury | 1 | | |
| South Elmsall | 6 | | |
| Slough | 0 | | |
| Southend | 15 | | |
| Souththorpe | 6 | | |
| Southampton | 25 | | |
| Stafford | 0 | | |
| Stirling | 3 | | |
| Stocks | 3 | | |
| Sunderland | 3 | | |
| Swindon | 11 | | |
| Teeside | 17 | | |

NOTE: These figures have only been compiled from returns actually received at party headquarters. Also student branches are not itemised separately, but included in the totals of the town concerned.

* * * * *

Examples of Branch recruitment figures

| | <u>1977</u> | <u>1978</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Bangor | 12 | 22 |
| Bristol | 17 | 40 |
| Canterbury | 15 | 25 |
| Cardiff | 23 | 39 |
| Harrogate | 5 | 16 |
| Lancaster | 20 | 42 |
| Pontypridd | 9 | 16 |
| St Albans | 10 | 18 |
| Southampton | 25 | 40 |
| Southend | 10 | 18 |

NOTE: When considering all the foregoing figures it is essential to realise that, although the recruitment figures given amount to a considerable total, the wastage from persons leaving the organisation and transferring from branch to branch is also quite considerable. Thus the actual membership does not increase in proportion to the recruitment figures given.

APPENDIX I. (contd)

New and revived Branches of the Socialist Workers Party since Conference 1977

Accrington

Ashford

Aylesbury

Bacchus

Bridgwater

Burton-on-Trent

Bury St Edmunds

Buxton

Carlisle

Ely

Brockham

Forest of Dean

Gosole

Grentham

Port Talbot

York Hospitals

Reading Hospitals

Kilmarnock

Leyland

Barrow

NOTE: This list does not include new branches within existing districts or student branches.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party which have been lost since Conference 1977

Berflect

-

members transferred to another branch

Grimsby

-

Nil members assumed (chaotic organization)

Kilmarnock

-

members transferred to another branch

Lampeter

-

1 left (student branch)

Wragby

-

dissolved

Analysis of 'Under 18' membership of the Socialist Workers Party

School students

Aged 16-18

131

Under 16

44

—

175

—

Others

175 (approx)

Since January 1978, 82 school students are known to have joined the party. All the above figures are based on the first 3,400 registration forms to arrive at the centre in 1978.

* * * * *

APPENDIX 2

To Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegates Conference
of the Socialist Workers Party.

| | <u>Requiring for membership from 'Socialist Worker' application slips (in year)</u> | | | | <u>Requirement resulting from those applications</u> | | |
|-----------|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| | <u>1975</u> | <u>1976</u> | <u>1977</u> | <u>1978</u> | <u>1975</u> | <u>1977</u> | <u>1978</u> |
| January | | 26 | 114 | 114 | | | |
| February | | 62 | 144 | 126 | | 126 | 82 |
| March | | 92 | 157 | 125 | | 235 | 158 |
| April | | 39 | 116 | 112 | | 220 | 95 |
| May | | 60 | 147 | 114 | | 205 | 167 |
| June | | 119 | 136 | | | 310 | 178 |
| July | | 128 | 122 | | | 201 | |
| August | 65 | 112 | 164 | | | 236 | |
| September | 40 | 91 | 128 | | | 140 | |
| October | 39 | 102 | 144 | | | 323 | |
| November | 27 | 130 | 159 | | | 171 | |
| December | 16 | 60 | 93 | | | 139 | |
| | | | | | 181 | 124 | |

* * * * *

APPENDIX 3

~~to Special Panel report concerning the 1978 National Delegates Conference of the Socialist Workers Party~~

| | <u>Trade unions in which the Socialist Workers Party has active members</u> |
|--------|--|
| ACTS | Association of Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Staffs |
| APEN | Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staffs |
| ASMBRW | Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers |
| ASLET | Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen |
| ASME | Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs |
| AUEW | Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers |
| AUT | Association of University Teachers |
| CCHES | Confederation of Health Service Employees |
| COSA | Clerical Office Staffs Association (NUW) |
| CPSA | Civil and Public Servants Association |
| CSU | Civil Service Union |
| ECTPU | Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union |
| EIS | Educational Institute of Scotland |
| FBU | Fire Brigades Union |
| FWAT | Furniture, Fisher and Allied Trades |
| GLCOSA | Greater London Council Staff Association |
| GMWU | General and Municipal Workers Union |
| ISTC | Iron and Steel Trades Confederation |
| IRSF | Inland Revenue Staff Federation |
| NALGO | National Association of Local Government Officers |
| NASDU | National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union |
| NATFHE | National Association of Teachers - Further and Higher Education |
| NATGPA | National Society of Operative, Graphical and Media Personnel |
| NIA | National Graphical Association |
| NMM | National Society of Metal Mechanics |

APPENDIX J (contd)

| | |
|--------|---|
| NULAW | National Union of Agriculture and Allied Workers |
| NUBPE | National Union of Bank Employees |
| NUDTY | National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Tintile Workers |
| NUDRW | National Union of Drapery and Railwear Workers |
| NUJ | National Union of Journalists |
| NUN | National Union of Mineworkers |
| NUPLAT | National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades |
| NUS | National Union of Students |
| NUTP | National Union of Teachers |
| SCPS | Society of Civil and Public Servants |
| SLADM | Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engineers and Process Workers |
| SOGAT | Society of Graphical and Allied Trades |
| TASS | Technical and Supervisory Staffs Association (AUEN) |
| TGCU | Transport and General Workers Union |
| UCATT | Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians |
| UPW | Union of Post Office Workers |
| UDDAW | Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Trades |

* * * * *

APPENDIX A

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of the National membership of the Socialist Workers Party in relation to trade union participation - the first 1,400 annual registrations for 1978 being compared with the same figures for 1977 and the first 2,007 for 1976

| | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Members in manual unions | 1275 | 1277 | 1122 |
| Members in white collar unions | 697 | 1079 | 1122 |
| Members in National Union of Students | 709 | 1071 | 1008 |
| Unemployed members - no union | 577 | 658 | 594 |
| School students | 157 | 258 | 261 |
| Housewives | 25 | 79 | 163 |
| Others | 37 | 95 | 76 |
| | 15 | 162 | 203 |
| Totals | 2007 | 3400 | 3400 |

Analysis of women members of the Socialist Workers Party who are members of trade unions - based on the registration totals given above

| | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Members in manual unions | 73 | 140 | 161 |
| Members in white collar unions | 199 | 320 | 338 |
| Members in National Union of Students | 90 | 174 | 153 |
| Unemployed members - no union | 34 | 65 | 80 |
| School students | 3 | 15 | 33 |
| Housewives | 37 | 93 | 76 |
| Others | 10 | 54 | 74 |
| | 446 | 869 | 915 |
| Totals | — | — | — |

Numbers of positions held within the trade union movement by members of the Socialist Workers Party

| <u>Manual Workers</u> | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Trade Union/Shopfloor positions | 300 | 298 | 289 |
| Trades Council delegates | 138 | 117 | 132 |
| Others | 83 | 133 | 120 |
| | 521 | 548 | 541 |
| Totals | — | — | — |

| <u>White Collar Workers</u> | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Trade Union/Shopfloor positions | 369 | 445 | 403 |
| Trades Council delegates | 148 | 169 | 154 |
| Others | 226 | 284 | 271 |
| | 733 | 898 | 828 |
| Totals | — | — | — |

| <u>Total for all categories</u> | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Trade Union/Shopfloor positions | 539 | 743 | 692 |
| Trades Council delegates | 286 | 286 | 286 |
| Others | 509 | 417 | 391 |
| | 1234 | 1446 | 1369 |
| Totals | — | — | — |

APPENDIX A (contd)

Analysis of the national membership of the Socialist Workers Party - number of individual members in each distinctive trade union

| <u>Manual Unions</u> | <u>1976</u> | <u>1977</u> | <u>1978</u> |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| NUPE | 43 | 119 | 133 |
| USIMAS | 20 | 34 | 36 |
| Books | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Boilermakers | 13 | 22 | 22 |
| MESPU | 47 | 72 | 61 |
| CWU (A MARTA) | 17 | 51 | 52 |
| TOWU (A ACTH) | 141 | 216 | 234 |
| NIM (A CWUA) | 12 | 33 | 26 |
| Print | 70 | 74 | 94 |
| AIRSW | 170 | 159 | 155 |
| Post Office (UPW & PGW) | 30 | 33 | 33 |
| BLAINT | 34 | 62 | 56 |
| Rail | 26 | 35 | 33 |
| Busmen | 15 | 12 | 21 |
| Sheetmetal workers | 3 | 16 | 14 |
| SUPLAT | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| LATO | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| NOMA | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| NUDPTV | 3 | 2 | 6 |
| NUAAW | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| NUFCW | 1 | 5 | 3 |
| P&U | 5 | 11 | 1 |
| PFAZ | 0 | 6 | 32 |
| Reidarts | 0 | 3 | 7 |
| ODISH | 20 | 41 | 7 |
| Others | 2 | 1 | 18 |
| <u>White Collar Unions</u> | | | |
| INPP/CPSA/CBU/SOS | 58 | 111 | 125 |
| AUT | 12 | 16 | 17 |
| NAFTWU | 101 | 115 | 69 |
| ASWKS | 111 | 155 | 130 |
| NUF | 146 | 271 | 248 |
| NIS | 22 | 42 | 34 |
| TAWS | 24 | 42 | 47 |
| APFU | 15 | 23 | 31 |
| NALGO | 161 | 254 | 237 |
| NUJ | 29 | 32 | 26 |
| ENTG | 10 | 24 | 17 |
| NUHN | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| <u>Other categories</u> | | | |
| Unemployed | 157 | 258 | 231 |
| Students | 377 | 638 | 594 |
| School students | 25 | 79 | 168 |
| Housewives | 77 | 93 | 76 |
| Others | 10 | 162 | 154 |
| <u>Totals</u> | | | |
| | 2007 | 3400 | 3400 |
| | ==== | ==== | ==== |

APPENDIX 5

To Special Committee Report concerning the 1972 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

Analysis of union membership of conference delegates

White Collar Unions

| | |
|---------|----|
| APWU | 1 |
| AFL-CIO | 9 |
| CPIA | 5 |
| KIB | 5 |
| CLCWA | 1 |
| IRU | 1 |
| NALC | 2 |
| NAFWU | 11 |
| NLU | 5 |
| NUP | 1 |
| SEPS | 17 |
| TASS | 1 |
| | 2 |

Manual Unions

| | |
|--------------|----|
| AUEW | 11 |
| Boilermakers | 1 |
| CIOUSW | 1 |
| INSECU | 1 |
| FNU | 3 |
| GAWU | 2 |
| NATSCPA | 2 |
| NGA | 1 |
| NLU | 1 |
| NUP | 1 |
| SEIU | 10 |
| UGWU | 1 |
| UNWU | 1 |
| USAWT | 6 |
| URW | 2 |
| | 1 |

Other categories

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| Unemployed | 7 |
| NLU | 12 |
| Not affiliated | 26 |
| | — |
| | 145 |
| | — |

APPENDIX 6

To Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of the financial situation of the Socialist Workers Party

National subscriptions received over the past twelve months (since Conference 1977):-

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| <u>1977</u> | June | £ | 2,678 |
| | July | | 3,247 |
| | August | | 3,005 |
| | September | | 3,672 |
| | October | | 3,206 |
| | November | | 3,250 |
| | December | | 3,020 |
| <u>1978</u> | January | | 3,800 |
| | February | | 4,511 |
| | March | | 3,396 |
| | April | | 4,092 |
| | May | | 3,394 |
| | | <u>£</u> | <u>£41,271</u> |

Comparative figures for current and previous years in relation to income/membership:-

| | <u>June '76 to May '77</u> | <u>June '77 to May '78</u> |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Income from national subscriptions | £35,650 | £41,271 |
| Approximate national membership | 3,100 | 4,000 |
| Average amount paid per member | £11.50 | £10.25 |
| <u>(NOTE:</u> It is also important to remember that the inflation rate for the period in question was around 12%, thus the organisation had far less financial resources in real terms during the last year) | | |
| Totals from Fighting/Defense Funds | £48,000 | £15,500 |
| Average monthly income (National Subscriptions and Funds together) = | £6,970 | £4,750 |

Example of variations in the amount of subscriptions paid to the Central

| <u>Branch/District</u> | <u>Average monthly amount (March/April/May 1978)</u> | <u>Membership</u> | <u>Average per member</u> |
|------------------------|--|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| Durham | £17 | 12 | £1.40 |
| Inner East London | £300 | 135 | £2.25 |
| Paisley | £10 | 50 | £0.20 |

APPENDIX 6 (contd)

Examples of variation in National Subscriptions paid by Branches/Districts:-

| <u>Month</u> | <u>Bedford Branch</u> | <u>South West London District</u> |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| February 1978 | £10.20 | £65.00 |
| March " | 4.60 | 21.00 |
| April " | 6.60 | 40.00 |

Examples of overheads incurred by districts running full-time
headquarters/branches:-

Monthly overheads

| | |
|------------|---------------------|
| Birmingham | £140 |
| Cardiff | 70 |
| Glasgow | 75 |
| Manchester | 100 (since vacated) |
| Sheffield | 80 |

* * * * *

APPENDIX 7

In General Report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference
of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of circulation figures and sales percentages
for 'Socialist Worker' since the 1977 Conference

| | <u>Total Print Order</u> | <u>Paid Sales</u> | <u>Paid Sales as % of print order</u> |
|----------------|------------------------------|-------------------|---|
| July 1977 | 25,250 | 15,300 | 59% |
| August 1977 | 26,100 | 15,300 | 59% |
| September 1977 | 25,000 | 15,300 | 53% |
| October 1977 | 37,200 | 17,180 | 46% |
| November 1977 | 26,375 | 17,190 | 65% |
| December 1977 | 30,975 | 15,330 | 50% |
| January 1978 | 30,700 | 16,300 | 53% |
| February 1978 | 30,725 | 17,050 | 55% |
| March 1978 | 26,550 | 16,250 | 59% |
| April 1978 | 31,350 | 17,580 | 56% |
| May 1978 | 30,700 | 16,250 | 53% |

Note: An asterisk beside the percentage figure denotes that there were no student sales during that month.

Approximate breakdown of national paid weekly sales
of 'Socialist Worker' in terms of places sold:

| | | |
|---|-------|----|
| By party members and supporters at their workplaces | 1,300 | 2% |
| Sales in colleges and universities | 1,000 | 1% |
| Student sales | 2,600 | 1% |
| Sales to members (own copies) | 1,800 | 1% |
| Postal subscription/bulk orders | 1,550 | 9% |
| Retail sales | 1,100 | 6% |
| By party members outside workplaces | 700 | 1% |
| Deliveries to individual supporters | 600 | 1% |
| Union meetings, cinemas, newsagents etc. | 500 | 2% |
| Public houses | 500 | 2% |
| Other sales by supporters | 100 | 2% |

AIRPORT (cont'd)

Selected example of weekly paid sales of 'Socialist Worker'

| | <u>Papers taken</u> | <u>Paid for</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Number sold per number</u> |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------------------|
| South London | 775 | 312 | 40% | 2-3 |
| South West London | 525 | 390 | 62% | 7 |
| Leeds | 600 | 236 | 40% | 2 |
| Edinburgh | 520 | 700 | Low | 0 |
| Norwich | 250 | 715 | 80% | 5-6 |
| Coventry Central | 200 | 163 | 80% | 10 plus |
| Chelmsford | 75 | 57 | 76% | 5-6 |
| Nottingham | 90 | 30 | 60% | 1-2 |

Sample percentage sales for three major districts showing increase in sales as a result of local devolution

BIRMINGHAM

| | <u>Papers taken</u> | <u>Papers sold</u> | <u>%</u> |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Birmingham North | 300 | 215 | 71% |
| Birmingham South | 200 | 173 | 86% |
| Longbridge | 100 | 64 | 64% |
| <u>Totals</u> | <u>600</u> | <u>452</u> | <u>75%</u> |
| Before local devolution Totals | 500 | 310 | 62% |

COVENTRY

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Coventry North | 100 | 77 | 77% |
| Coventry East | 75 | 56 | 74% |
| Coventry Central | 200 | 168 | 84% |
| <u>Totals</u> | <u>375</u> | <u>201</u> | <u>53%</u> |
| After local devolution Totals | 300 | 100 | 33% |

APPENDIX 7 (cont'd)

GLASGOW WEST

| | <u>Papers taken</u> | <u>Papers sold</u> | <u>%</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Albion | 100 | 70 | 70% |
| Brunswick | 100 | 68 | 68% |
| Partick | 150 | 92 | 61% |
| Clydebank | 100 | 66 | 66% |
| Total | 450 | 326 | 72% |
| Before local devolution Total | <u>375</u> | <u>125</u> | <u>33%</u> |

APPENDIX 6

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of weekly editions of 'Socialist Worker' showing number of writers employed, number of strikes reported and corresponding total strikes per month recorded at the Department of the Environment

| <u>Date of Issue</u> | <u>Headline</u> | <u>Number of writers</u> | <u>Strikes Reported</u> |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 2 July 1977 | Grunwicks | 9 | 20 |
| 7 July 1977 | Class, Not Colour, Divides Us | 13 | 18 |
| 16 July 1977 | The Morning the Bank and Pile Stopped Grunwicks | 13 | 16 |
| 23 July 1977 | They've Given us the Price Explosion (tea, coffee etc). We Cannot Go On Without a Wages Explosion | 10 | 20 |
| 30 July 1977 | 1,614,000 (Unemployed) | 17 | 21 |
| 6 August 1977 | The £3000 Million Robbery | 13 | 17 |
| 13 August 1977 | Death on the Dole | 8 | 26 |
| 20 August 1977 | We Stopped the Nazis and We'll Do It Again | 7 | 17 |
| 27 August 1977 | Now Who are the Wreckers | 12 | 25 |
| 3 September 1977 | We're Marching For You | 18 | 20 |
| 10 September 1977 | Prices Don't Wait 12 Months Why Should Wages | 9 | 19 |
| 17 September 1977 | Support the Bread Workers | 9 | 22 |
| 24 September 1977 | "Brutality" | 13 | 29 |
| 1 October 1977 | The Crook Who Helped Make a Prime Minister | 10 | 22 |
| 8 October 1977 | They're Taking the Food Out of Our Mouths | 10 | 18 |
| 15 October 1977 | Save our Hospitals | 11 | 19 |

/contd

APPENDIX 8 (contd)

| <u>Date of Issue</u> | <u>Headline</u> | <u>Number of Writers</u> | <u>Strikes reported</u> |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 22 October 1977 | Abortions: Callaghan's Dirty Deal | 15 | 20 |
| 29 October 1977 | Your Factory Could Be a Bomb | 16 | 20 |
| 5 November 1977 | Magnificent Miners | 5 | 17 |
| 12 November 1977 | Firemen Give Their Lives For You.... Give Them a Livelihood | 11 | 21 |
| 19 November 1977 | Pay the Firemen | 10 | 16 |
| 26 November 1977 | Force Them To Pay The Firemen | 13 | 19 |
| 3 December 1977 | Now is the Time to Turn Sympathy Into Solidarity | 10 | 28 |
| 10 December 1977 | Betrayed, Abused and Flaming Angry | 14 | 11 |
| 17 December 1977 | The Plot to Wreck the Miners' Claims | 6 | 19 |
| 21 December 1977 | How Long Can They Sink | 20 | 9 |
| 5 January 1978 | Labour's On a Day Madness | 10 | 14 |
| 11 January 1978 | Free Speech | 14 | 17 |
| 11 January 1978 | Gutter Justice | 5 | 15 |
| 26 January 1978 | Strike Breakers Reward | 10 | 18 |
| 1 February 1978 | Wanted | 12 | 20 |
| 11 February 1978 | Operation Raglan | 6 | 18 |
| 18 February 1978 | Race : The Guilty | 16 | 17 |
| 25 February 1978 | Licensed to Kill | 13 | 14 |
| 4 March 1978 | The Waste and the Wilderness | 11 | 14 |
| 11 March 1978 | Asian Seamen Left to Drown | 18 | 17 |
| 18 March 1978 | US Miners Defy Carter | 15 | 19 |
| 25 March 1978 | The Rape of Lebanon | 14 | 17 |
| 1 April 1978 | Wage Snatch | 13 | 17 |
| 8 April 1978 | Nazi Bombers | 7 | 19 |

/contd

APPENDIX 8 (contd)

| <u>Date of Issue</u> | <u>Headline</u> | <u>Number of writers</u> | <u>Strikes reported</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 15 April 1978 | Spillers Cockalot | 15 | 18 |
| 22 April 1978 | A Match to Fire the Mercury | 11 | 16 |
| 29 April 1978 | Carnival Edition | 14 | 19 |
| 6 May 1978 | MAGIC | 11 | 14 |
| 13 May 1978 | Nazis Humiliated | 15 | 13 |
| 20 May 1978 | Callaghan's Curse | 17 | 15 |
| 27 May 1978 | Pit Deaths Double | 22 | 16 |
| 3 June 1978 | Enjoy the Goals | 13 | 12 |
| 10 June 1978 | Women's Rights Denied | 32 | 20 |
| 17 June 1978 | Never Again | 21 | 19 |

NOTE: An asterisk denotes the total number of strikes in a particular month as recorded by the Department of the Environment.

* * * * *

APPENDIX 9

to Special Branch report concerning the 1973 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of publications produced and printed by the Socialist Workers Party for unions and 'rank and file' organisations

| <u>Union/Organisation</u> | <u>Publication</u> | <u>Issues since January 1973</u> | <u>Print Order</u> | <u>Paid Sale</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| ASWTS | Red Callier | 2 | 1000 } 2000 } | 600 7 |
| Mechanics | Charter | 3 | 2500 | 500 |
| Civil Service | Redder Tape | 3 | 2500 | 200 |
| SWPPU | Contact | 1 | 5000 | 2000 |
| | Contracting Bulletin (P) | 1 | 5000 | 7 |
| FBU | Fireman | 1 | 1200 | 7 |
| | Daily Strike News | 40 | 4000 (after first ten issues) | 7 |
| Hospital Workers | Hospital Worker | 3 | 7000 | 3500 |
| Mines | The Callier | 4 | 1800 | 850 |
| SATPSB | Rank and File | 3 | 2000 | 1200 |
| BWU | Journalists Charter | 4 | 1200 | 600 |
| NUT | Rank and File | 3 | 5000 | 3000 |
| NAFCO | NAFCO Action News | 5 | 3000 | 2000 |
| OPW | Post Office Worker | 1 | 850 | 250 |
| USIBAW | Shopfloor | 1 | 1000 | 600 |
| Dunes | Platform | 2 | 2000 | 1500 |
| IRSP | Inland Revenue Rank and File | 2 | 3000 * | 1000 |

NOTE: The figure denoted with an asterisk does not include the figure needed to send one copy to every branch on a complimentary basis.

* * * * *

APPENDIX 10

To Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of production and sales figures for 'Socialist Review'
up to 15 June 1978

| | <u>Issue 1</u> | <u>Issue 2</u> | <u>Issue 3</u> |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Print Order | 7500 | 9000 | 8000 |
| Distribution to Branches | 3850 | 4650 | 5000 |
| Distribution to Bookshops | 800 | 1200 | 1300 |
| Distribution to Booksellers | 300 | 300 | 300 |
| Central sales (see note (a)) | 650 | 550 | 100 |
| United Kingdom subscriptions | 200 | 200 | 200 |
| Distribution to Foreign fraternal organisations | 250 | 250 | 250 |
| Foreign subscriptions | 200 | 200 | 200 |
| Approximate wastage | 750 | 1650 | 650 |
| Printing and design costs (see note (b)) | £950 | £1250 | £869 |
| Number of copies paid for by branches (up to 15 June 1978 and not including bulk distribution) | 1600 | 850 | Not Available |

NOTES:

(a) These figures are probably an underestimate and only include the large and 'e.g. Skegness Rally' for sales of 'Socialist Review 1' and 'annual and Winnscale demonstrations for sale of 'Socialist Review 2'.

(b) In addition to the actual costs of design and printing, 'Socialist Review', as a subsidiary of Socialist Worker Distributors (the print shop), has to cover £500 per month of the total overheads, the bulk of this being staff wages.

* * * * *

In Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference
of the Socialist Workers Party

Analysis of membership figures for 'Flame',
the Black Caucus of the Socialist Workers Party

Location and composition of current 'Flame' branches:

| | <u>SWP Members</u> | <u>Non SWP Members</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| Birmingham | 7 | 17 | 24 |
| Notting Hill | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| High Wycombe | 2 | 12 | 14 |
| Leeds | 1 | 10 | 11 |
| Lewisham | 1 | 5 | 7 |
| North London | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| North West London | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | <u>27</u> | <u>58</u> | <u>85</u> |

Areas with isolated Afro-Caribbean members:

Colchester
Glasgow
Inner East London
Liverpool
Manchester
Newcastle
Bournemouth
Outer East London
Sheffield

- In total approximately
18 members

APPENDIX 11 (cont'd)

Background to 'Flame' membership from a sample census
taken at a national 'Flame' cadre school in May 1978

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Age Groupings | : 9 members were aged between 17 and 20 years 3 members were aged between 21 and 23 years 5 members were aged between 24 and 29 years 2 members were aged 30 |
| Occupation | : 9 members were fully employed 6 members were unemployed (2 having recently completed college courses) 1 member was a student |
| Origins | : 11 members were born in Britain 8 members were born abroad (4 in Jamaica and 4 in Africa) |

Analysis of 'Flame' publication and sales figures
for the period June 1977 to May 1978

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Print order per issue | 3000 |
| Average distribution figure | 2725 |
| Number of editions | 6 (+1 Special) |
| Total sales figures for period (ie paid sales) | £317 |
| Total income for period | £ 356 |
| Average paid sale per issue | 621 |

NOTE: For the greater part of 1977 there was no business manager for 'Flame' and for a period of four months the 'Flame Organiser' took no active part in the financial affairs of the paper. Thus, it is quite possible that the above figures were actually higher than quoted above although the requisite sums of money have never been recovered by the organisation.

APPENDIX 12

To Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegates Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

Analysis of the National Organisation of International Student Societies membership and influence within student establishments

Breakdown of colleges having a NOISS membership in different regions:

| | <u>1976-77</u> | <u>1977-78</u> |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| Home Counties | 20 | 23 |
| London | 32 | 42 |
| Midlands | 11 | 21 |
| North East | 5 | 7 |
| North West | 13 | 18 |
| Scotland | 21 | 19 * |
| South Coast | 8 | 11 |
| South West | 5 | 7 |
| Wales | 9 | 8 |
| Yorkshire | 12 | 19 |
| | <hr/> 136 | <hr/> 175 |

NOTE: * From the figures given it would appear that the membership in Scotland has declined. In actual fact, although the number of establishments has decreased, the total membership has increased to 82.

Breakdown of different establishments having a NOISS membership:

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Universities | 45 | 51 |
| Polytechnics | 17 | 27 |
| Education College | 30 | 20 |
| Further Education and Techs | 21 | 57 |
| Art Colleges | - | 8 |
| Miscellaneous | 11 | 12 |
| | <hr/> 136 | <hr/> 175 |

Total membership of National Organisation of International Student Societies is approximately 2,000

The approximate ratio of NOISS members to Socialist Workers Party members is 1 : 1

The ratio of men to women in the NOISS is approximately 2 : 1

APPENDIX 12 (contd)

Breakdown of Socialist Workers Party membership in colleges:

Colleges with more than 10 SWP members:

| | |
|-------------------------------|----|
| Bangor University | 10 |
| Bristol University | 22 |
| Edinburgh University | 10 |
| Essex University | 12 |
| Glasgow University | 11 |
| Hull University | 13 |
| Jamie's Hill (Glasgow) | 12 |
| Kent University | 12 |
| Kingsway Princeton | 14 |
| Leeds University | 10 |
| London School of Economics | 11 |
| Manchester University | 10 |
| Middlesex Polytechnic | 10 |
| North East London Polytechnic | 29 |
| Portsmouth Polytechnic | 10 |
| Sterling University | 10 |
| Teeside Polytechnic | 10 |
| Warwick University | 11 |

Colleges with more than 3 SWP members:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Aberdeen | 9 |
| Berriott Watt | 9 |
| Lancaster | 9 |
| Oxford | 8 |
| Polytechnic of Central London | 8 |
| Rending | 8 |
| Sheffield Polytechnic | 9 |
| SOAS | 9 |
| Thames Polytechnic | 8 |
| York | 8 |

Colleges with more than 1 SWP member:

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Aberystwyth | 6 |
| Birmingham University | 5 |
| Bedford College | 5 |

[REDACTED] APPENDIX 12 (contd)

| | |
|--|---|
| Brighton University | 6 |
| Brunel University | 7 |
| Kilburn Polytechnic | 5 |
| Newcastle University | 5 |
| NCIP | 6 |
| St Albans College of Further Education | 5 |
| Salford | 7 |
| Sheffield University | 5 |
| Southampton University | 5 |
| Sussex University | 6 |
| UWE | 7 |

Colleges with more than 3 DWF members:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Birmingham Polytechnic | 4 |
| C P Nott | 4 |
| Chesterfield Technical College | 3 |
| Croydon Technical College | 3 |
| Doncaster Meteorological Institute | 3 |
| Durham University | 3 |
| Exeter University | 4 |
| Highbury Technical College | 3 |
| Kingston Polytechnic | 4 |
| Leicester Polytechnic | 4 |
| Leicester University | 3 |
| Liverpool University | 3 |
| Loughborough University | 3 |
| Newcastle Polytechnic | 3 |
| Oldham Technical College | 4 |
| Orpington Technical College | 4 |
| Paisley Technical College | 3 |
| Preston Polytechnic | 3 |
| QMC | 3 |
| Surrey University | 3 |
| University College Cardiff | 3 |
| Wolverhampton Polytechnic | 4 |

Comparison of union membership for women members of the Socialist Workers Party for 1976, 1977 and 1978

| | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 |
|-----------------|------|------|------|
| WCWPS | 16 | 45 | 55 |
| USDAW | 4 | 7 | 12 |
| SEALPU | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| GWU | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| TGWU | 20 | 44 | 42 |
| NUM (ACOMA) | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Print | 16 | 15 | 16 |
| AUDL | 55 | 5 | 8 |
| Post Office | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Bakers | - | 1 | - |
| Mail | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| D-ees | 1 | 4 | - |
| HUPLAT | - | 2 | - |
| CORPS | - | - | 10 |
| ISTC | - | 1 | 1 |
| MUDERS | - | - | 3 |
| NURKU | - | 1 | - |
| Civil Service | 10 | 28 | 35 |
| AUT | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| HATFED | 29 | 23 | 28 |
| ASPMG | 16 | 29 | 32 |
| BUT | 42 | 115 | 108 |
| EIS | 16 | 17 | 11 |
| TASC | - | 3 | 2 |
| APEX | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| HALCO | 68 | 96 | 99 |
| EWI | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| NUKE | - | 1 | 2 |
| NETS | - | - | 5 |
| Housewives | 37 | 93 | 76 |
| Students | 90 | 174 | 153 |
| Unemployed | 30 | 63 | 80 |
| School students | 3 | 15 | 33 |
| Others | 10 | 54 | 74 |
| | 446 | 859 | 755 |

APPENDIX VI

Analysis of production figures and sales percentages
for 'Young Voice' since January 1977.

| | <u>Total Print Order</u> | <u>Print Sales</u> | <u>Paid Sales as % of print order</u> |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| January 1977 | 6500 | 3830 | 59% |
| February 1977 | 7000 | 4650 | 66% |
| March 1977 | 8000 | 3260 | 41% |
| April 1977 | 8500 | 5350 | 63% |
| May 1977 | 8500 | 5170 | 61% |
| June 1977 | 8500 | 4150 | 49% |
| July 1977 | 9000 | 4300 | 48% |
| August 1977 | 9000 | 5170 | 57% |
| September 1977 | 9000 | 6200 | 69% |
| October 1977 | 10500 | 5760 | 55% |
| November 1977 | 10500 | 3600 | 35% |
| December 1977 | 10500 | 7090 | 66% |
| January 1978 | 12000 | 8310 | 69% |
| February 1978 | 12000 | 6680 | 56% |
| March 1978 | 12000** | 5470 | 46% |
| April 1978 | 12000 | 6320 | 53% |
| May 1978 | 11,000** | Not available | - |
| June 1978 | 12000 | Not available | - |

NOTE: * - denotes price increase to 15p per copy

** - denotes extra copies for 'Carnival Edition'

APPENDIX 14 (cont'd)

Membership figures for Women's Voice groups from available returns

| | <u>SWP Numbers</u> | <u>New SWP Numbers</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| Bedford | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Canterbury | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Chelmsford | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Kentish Town | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Redditch | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Norwich | 2 | 13 | 15 |
| Pontefract | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Bunting | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| Shrewsbury | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Walthamstow | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| Wolverhampton | 7 | 7 | 14 |

APPENDIX 15Full nomination list for the National Advisory Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

Privacy

Boggs COT

Privacy

Library, Manus.

Privacy

SCLA
UCATT
TGWU
Unemployed
KALGO
NUPE
Full time SWP
AUEW
AUEW
Full time SWP
AUEW
NETPU
AIM
TGWU
NUT
KATTFED
ASDMS
BLW
MATSOPA
CPRA
NUPE
AUEW
AUEW
NUT
TGWU
GPSA
NUPE
AUEW
MANSA
ASLEP
PSU
GMC
Full time SWP
Full time SWP
Full time SWP
TGWU

APPENDIX 15 (contd)

Privacy

Indian BIGGINS

Privacy

General JEWELLERS

Privacy

Main PROJECT

Boilermakers

INTO

NDS

UCATT

UCATT

NUT

MATERIAL

NUPE

UCATT

TGWU

Unemployed

Full time SWP

COPSE

AUEW

NUT

GLOSA

NUPE

METPU

CSU

CPSA

Full time SWP

NUPE

CPSA

INSET

TASS

AUEW

NDS

NUT

FBU

TGWU

BALGO

NUPE

MATERIAL

UPW

METPU

BALGO

NUM

TGWU

APPENDIX 15 (contd)

Privacy

TGWU
ASTMS
Full time SWP
NATFME
NUJ
Full time SWP
NALGO
FBU
NUPE
NUJ
NATFME
NALGO
ETPU

Total nominations: 87

NOTE: Those names marked with an asterisk were on a shortened 'recommended' list of forty five names produced before the final discussion on the subject.

National Advisory Committee of the Socialist Workers Party
for the period 1978-79

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Blacks

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

NATFME

Privacy

NUJ

Privacy

NUJ

Privacy

NUJ

Privacy

NUJ

Privacy

NUJ

Privacy

APPENDIX 15 (contd)

GPs

Privacy

Health

Privacy

Nurses

Privacy

Midwives

Privacy

Other

Privacy

Other

Privacy

Other

Other members

Privacy

USATX

Privacy

Brian KIRKHAM

Unemployed

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Areas represented by members of the National Advisory Committee

None Counties

Basildon

Barlow

Midlands

Birmingham

Coventry

North East

Newcastle

Yorkshire

Sheffield

Nottingham

North West

Macclesfield

Manchester

Merseyside

Scotland

Glasgow

Edinburgh

Dundee

Wales

Cardiff

Analysis of the composition of the National Advisory Committee

| | |
|-----------------------|----|
| Total membership | 45 |
| Women members | 13 |
| Black GPs members | 23 |
| White GPs members | 12 |
| London based members | 20 |
| Black members | 4 |
| ME members | 2 |
| Unemployed | 1 |
| Full time SMP workers | 6 |

* * * * *

APPENDIX 16

to Special French report concerning the
1978 National Delegate Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party

LIST OF FULL-TIME PARTY WORKERS

Privacy

Privacy

Alex CALLINSON

Privacy

Central Committee (1977 - 1978)
RP 402 Privacy

[REDACTED]
district organiser

1978

[REDACTED]
District organiser

Privacy

[REDACTED]
District organiser

[REDACTED]
District organiser

[REDACTED]
District organiser

[REDACTED]
District organiser

Tony CLIFFE

Privacy

Central Committee (1977 - 1978)
RP 402 Privacy

Privacy

[REDACTED]
Full-time party worker - district organiser
No Trace

[REDACTED]
Full-time party worker - district organiser
Unable to identify

*** / ***

UCPI0000013228/142

Gerry FITZPATRICK

Privacy

Irish Organiser

RF 402

Privacy

Lindsay COOPER

Privacy

Full-time party worker
RF 402/76/410

Peter SAWYER

Privacy

International Department
RF 402

Privacy

Privacy

Duncan MILLAR

Privacy

Central Committee 13777
RF 402

Privacy

Privacy

Chris HANNAH

Privacy

Central Committee 13777
RF 405

Privacy

Privacy

UCPI0000013228/143

Paul KOTWINKI

Privacy

Full-time organizer
EP 405

Privacy

Steve JEFFREYS

Privacy

Central Committee (1977 -
EP 405)

Privacy

Privacy

Phil KOTWINKI

Privacy

Full-time party worker
EP 405/

Privacy

Privacy

Jim KOTWINKI

Privacy

Central Committee (1977 -
EP 405)

Privacy

- 5 -

Privacy

Privacy

Re: PARTIES

Security Control Committee
RF 405/

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Re: DODIC PREVOR

Security Control Committee
Delegation Letter
RF 402/

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

UCPI0000013228/145

Privacy

Privacy

Party structures

Privacy

Full-time party workers
SF 402/1

Privacy

Central Committee

Privacy

Central Committee (1977)
SF 405/1

Privacy

APPENDIX 37

The Provincial Branches present during the 1978 National Delegates Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party

LAW OF SELECTION

Privacy

[REDACTED]
- 2 -

Privacy

UCPI0000013228/148

Privacy

Privacy

Master COX

North West London

AIBW

Privacy

Privacy



UCPI0000013228/150

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

[REDACTED]

10 -

Privacy

Privacy

Review

Review

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Allied Intelligence Bureau

to David French report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party.

List of foreign delegates

Privacy

No trace

International Socialists

Privacy

No trace

West Germany
Sozialistische Arbeiter Gruppe

Privacy

No trace

Spain
Action Communiste

Privacy

No trace

France
Coutant Communiste

Privacy

No trace

Ireland
Northern Ireland
Socialist Workers Tendency of the
Socialist Labour Party

No trace

Privacy

No trace

No trace

~~APPENDIX 19~~

~~to Special Agent report concerning the
1978 National Islamic Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party~~

~~EDITORIAL STAFF OF "SOCIALIST WORKER" ATTENDING ON "PULL" DELEGATE CREDENTIALS~~

Privacy

Privacy

Final FOIA

NY 405/64/395

Privacy

Privacy

UCPI0000013228/163

to Special Branch report concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of the Socialist Workers Party

List of accredited observers

Student Observer

Anti-Nazi League Observer

Flame Observer

Flame Observer

International Observer

Anti-Nazi League Observer

Flame Observer

Socialist Review

Flame Observer

International Observer

Privacy

Women's Voice Observer

Flame Observer

Student Observer

Youth Observer

Youth Observer

Student Observer

Anti-Nazi League Observer

Flame Observer

Accredited Observers (contd)

| Privacy | Youth Observer | Mention |
|--|----------------|------------|
| <u>Observers not accredited to any particular organization</u> | | |
| Privacy | Privacy | [REDACTED] |

In addition to the above, credentials under 'Observer Status' were also issued to various factions within the party for use as shown below:-

Printshop Observer (All conferences) One delegate

Printshop/Socialist Worker staff Two delegates
(General use - rotating)

Youth Committee Three delegates

a/c Privacy

Full-time youth organiser

Privacy

Flame One delegate

a/c Privacy

Women's Voice Six delegates

a/c Margaret HIGH

Full-time Women's Voice Organiser

* * * * *

~~to Special Branch report concerning the
1976 National Conference of the
Socialist Workers Party.~~

SPYWARE RESPONSIBLE FOR SECURITY:

Privacy

Privacy

Colin CLARK

NY 402/11/190

Privacy

Privacy

* * * * *

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To Special Panel report concerning the 1975 National Delegate Conference
of the Socialist Workers Party

List of persons mentioned in the report or amendment,
references to whom are not shown elsewhere.

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

Privacy

UCPI0000013228/168

~~Anti-Socialist League~~

List of organisations mentioned in conference report

Anti-Socialist League

Asian National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

Bangladeshi Workers Association

Big Picture

Black Panther Party

British Movement

Calmarts Union

Communist Party of Great Britain

Indian Workers Association

International Marxist Group

International Socialists

International Tribunal on the British Presence in Ireland

Labour Party

National Front

National Organisation of Student Societies

National Union of School Students

Pakistani Workers Association

Palestine Solidarity Campaign

Rebel

Right to Work Campaign

Rock Against Racism

School Kids Against the Nazis (SKAN)

Socialist Challenge

Socialist Labour League

Socialist Unity

Socialist Workers Party

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX 13 (Contd.)

[REDACTED]

Socialist Worker Student Organisation

Socialist Workers Party (Northern Ireland)

Socialist Worker Youth Network

Stoppage Out Movement

United Stoppage Out Movement

Workers Revolutionary Party

Young Communist League

UCPI0000013228/170

APPENDIX 21

An Official Journal Report Concerning the 1978 National Delegate Conference of
the Socialist Workers Party.

List of publications mentioned in report and appendices

'*The Collier*'
'*Contact*'
'*Engineers Charter*'
'*Fight*'
'*Firman*'
'*Flame*'
'*Freedom Fighter*'
'*Hospital Worker*'
'*Inland Revenue Book and File*'
'*International Socialists Journal*'
'*Journalists Charter*'
'*Militant*'
'*NAIGO Action News*'
'*Newline*'
'*Platform*'
'*Post Office Worker*'
'*Red Dollar*'
'*Redder Tape*'
'*Shopfloor*'
'*Socialist Challenge*'
'*Socialist Review*'
'*Socialist Worker*'
'*Socialist Worker Review*'
'*Temporary Boarding*'
'*Woman's Voice*'

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